

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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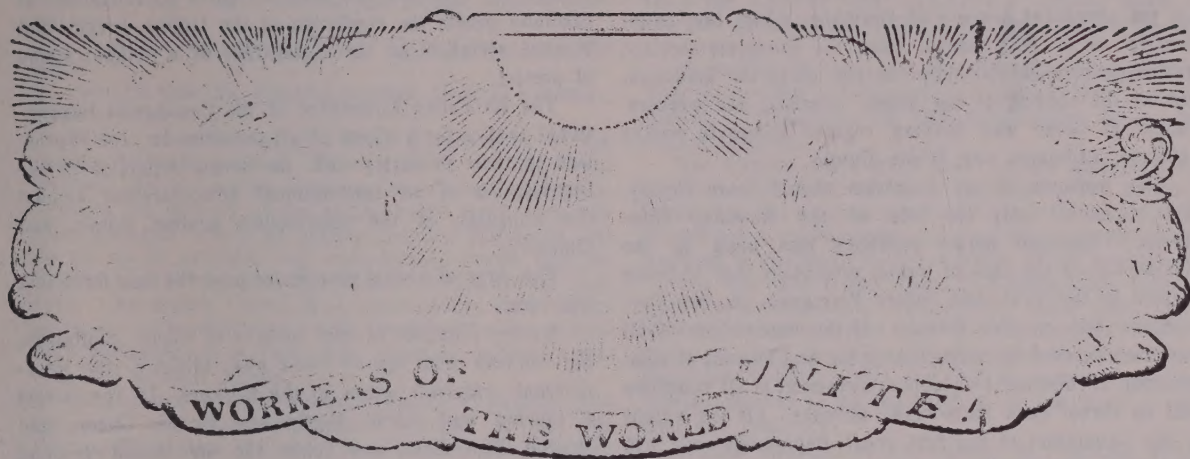
ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

APPEARS SIMULTANEOUSLY IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN

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APPEAL

of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the workers of all countries,

Comrades, the capitalist world, shaken to its foundation by the five years of war, is on the eve of final collapse. World revolution is on the march, it approaches with the inevitableness of fate.

Face to face with this menace, the international bourgeoisie makes desperate efforts to keep power in its own hands, to crush social revolution that threatens its class supremacy. Its heaviest blows are directed at those countries where the working class have already won a victory: at the soviet republics of Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, Lettland, Lithuania, White Russia.

A savage and monstrous crime is being committed before our eyes. The world-robbers of capitalism are ready for every villainess, for the greatest infamy, if that will but help them to crush the hateful proletarian power of the soviets.

They sow hatred towards the nations that have shaken off the yoke of capitalism, and scatter the most shameless lies about the policy of the soviet republics, at the same time depriving the workers of their countries of the possibility of sending their representatives to Russia and Hungary, where they might convince themselves with their own eyes, of the socialistic transformation of those countries. They shout about the horrors of the Red Terror from every house-top, but they themselves employ white terror—violence against the workers—in its most savage form.

They put up counter-revolutionary risings, and support with all means at their command those embittered reactionaries who endeavour to reestablish the power of landowners and capitalists, which is hateful to all nations,

but so dear to the heart of the international bourgeoisie. They shamelessly refuse the peace offers of the truly popular soviet governments, and enter into agreements with the worst counter-revolutionaries—Generals Kolchak, and Denikin in Russia, with the declared monarchists Counts Karolyi and Andrássy in Hungary. They do not even stop at destroying, by the hands of their agents, railway bridges and water works, incalculably augmenting thereby the sufferings of the labouring masses.

They mock the peoples of the soviet republics, by crying out at the starvation and ruin of these countries and laying the responsibility for them on the soviet government. But they do not mention that ruin and starvation are the results of the world war and capitalist management,—that this ruin is enhanced by the imperial policy of the imperialists of the Great Powers, who in league against the soviet republics, continue the blockade and send their mercenary bands against Russia and Hungary.

By hypocritical and lying declarations in Parliament and the press they seek to blind the wakefulness of their peoples. Lloyd George and Clemenceau, Wilson and Scheidemann all with one voice declare that they have no intention of making war on the soviet republics, and at the same time send ever new forces to Siberia, Archangel, the Murmansk and the Danube, continue to provide the enemies of the soviet republics with arms and ammunition, incite the Polish gentry, the Romanian boyars, Baltic barons and the Czech, Finnish, Estonian counter-revolutionaries against the peoples of Russia, Hungary, Ukraine.

In the struggle against socialism the bourgeoisie of the world has formed a united battle-front. Is it not

astonishing how easily and quickly yesterday's enemies are appeased when it is the struggle against socialist revolution that is at issue. The victorious Allies have not yet concluded peace with Germany, whom they want to strip to the last thread, when the bourgeois socialist traitor government already eagerly plays the hangman-part at the bidding of the Allies, crushing the workers' risings at home and sending regular troops to occupy Lettland, Lithuania and White Russia.

The workers of all countries should learn clearly, that it is not only the fate of the Russian, Hungarian, Ukrainian soviet republics that hang in the balance—it is the fate of world revolution that is being decided in the Ural and before Petrograd, in the Carpathians and on the Danube. If the imperialists of all countries succeed in extinguishing the first hearths of communistic revolution, the labour movement of all countries will be thrust back for several decades. All the weight of the liquidation of the first great imperialist war will be laid on the shoulders of the workers, and this not only in the defeated countries but in the victorious countries as well. And the unceasing wrangling about the division of the booty soon will lead to new, still more senseless and bloody wars, and in the end the whole world will be plunged into hopeless poverty and endless slavery.

The only escape, the only salvation is in universal social revolution.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International summons the workers of all countries to the aid of universal social revolution. The Committee observes

with satisfaction, that the workers of many countries have already recognised their task and protest loudly against the criminal intentions of their governments. It cordially greets the resolution of the Italian, French and English socialists on the declaration of a general strike of protest.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International invites the workers of all countries to give expression to their solidarity with the soviet republics by the organisation of an international demonstration against the campaign of the imperialists against Russia and Hungary.

The days of verbal protest are past, the time for action has come.

To the alliance of the robbers of world capitalism, the workers must oppose their own alliance, the international fraternal union of the workers. In the streets of London and Paris, Berlin and Rome, Vienna and Prague, New York and Tokio the air should resound with the same shouts:

Down with the campaign against the soviet republics!

Down with capitalism! Down with the power of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the power of the workers!

The Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

G. Zinoviev,

Chairman.

A NEW FORM OF INTERVENTION!

To the Workers of England, France, Italy and America.

The governments of England and France dared not declare open war on the Russian Soviet Republic. These governments were afraid to send a few millions or even a few hundred thousand men of the regular army against Soviet Russia. They know very well, that the English and French workmen and soldiers look upon the Russian workmen as their brothers. It was not in vain that Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons, that to send a great English army to Russia meant to transplant bolshevism to England by the shortest possible road.

But this does not mean that the English and French government have given up the idea of making war on Soviet Russia. They merely chose another, less apparent, fashion of intervening into Russian affairs.

To the English and French workmen they declare: we have given up intervention, we do not interfere with Russian affairs, God forbid; we «only» help Generals Denikin, Yudenich and Koltchak in their struggle against bolshevism.

English, French, Italian and American workers! Comrades! Imagine that a burglar tries to break into your house to murder you and your wife and children. You have locked your door and armed yourself in self-defence. The burglar approaches, but cannot overcome the locks and bars. With a shot from your rifle you drive him away. By this time your neighbour has hurried to the burglar's aid, bringing him a crowbar, jimmy, a poisoned dagger, has fed and warmed him, given him some of his own servants to help him and sent him against you, armed by now to the teeth. The robber, encouraged and strengthened, attacks you with redoubled impudence. And your honest neighbour, who supplied the robber with all he needed, swears, smirking: By God, I am against intervention into your internal affairs, I really and truly refuse to intervene in the most decided fashion.

This is the attitude taken up by the Allied governments with regard to workman and peasant Russia.

Workers of England, France, Italy and America! Know that the «Allied» governments have not in the least given up interference in Russian affairs. They have merely chosen a more cunning and jesuitic form of intervention.

Whom do the governments of Lloyd George aid and abet?

Admiral Kolchak, General Denikin, General Krassnov, General Yudenich.

These generals are all living incarnations of the darkest tsaristic reaction. These generals are hated and despised by the entire working population of Russia. Without the support of the Anglo-French stock exchange these generals would be utterly helpless and could not do the soviet republic any considerable harm. But the English and French governments provide the tsarist generals with money, arms, food, commanding staff, volunteers, spies, incendiaries,—with everything these gentleman ruffians need in their base struggle against workmen and peasant Russia.

English and French national wealth is passing into the hands of Russian whiteguard generals to pay for the costs of stifling the great Russian revolution. English and French soldiers are to be made the butchers of the Russian people.

The English and French bourgeoisie sets bourgeoisie Finland, the white guards of Esthonia, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of Poland and Lithuania against Soviet Russia. Finland, Poland, Esthonia are aswarming with English and French counter-revolutionary officers and spies. They train, victual, clothe and shoe the white guard bands destined for fight against Soviet Russia. From Finland, Esthonia and Poland Anglo-French agents organise conspiracies in Russia, burning of grain stores, blowing-up of bridges, and so forth. The official and semi-official consulates of England, France and Italy in Petrograd were the hotbeds of espionage and provocation. The representatives of the English and French government bribe Russian white guard officers and incite them to the vilest treason.

The workers of all countries are apparently so indignant at the schemes of the Allied imperialists, that even

the compromise-«socialists» at least in their speeches, protest against intervention.

The compromise-«socialists» now endeavour to convince the workers that victory has already been won and the governments of the Allies have given up intervention.

Comrades! This is a vile lie. This is deliberate deceit. Your imperialist governments have not given up intervention. They carry on this intervention in its most disgusting form.

The English and French governments have recognized Admiral Kolchak to be the «legitimate» ruler of Russia. Is this not the grossest interference into Russian affairs? Is this not a challenge to you, as well as to the Russian workers, a challenge to the workers of all countries?

For four and a half years the bourgeoisie made the workmen and peasants exterminate each other by the hundred thousand. And now the bourgeoisie wants to make you pay the costs of production of this wholesale slaughter. Besides this, the Allied governments want «their» peoples to be the butchers of the Russian workmen and peasants.

Honour requires of the workers of England, France, Italy and America that they immediately protest against intervention in this its new jesuitic form. Act so that the robber governments of the Entente should be incapable of transporting a single soldier, a single shell, a single gun. The salvation of the workers of all countries lies only in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the establishment of soviet power. The fate of the proletarian movement depends most of all on the workers of England, France, Italy and America.

Expose this new deceit. Sound the alarm. Raise the banner of revolt. Form councils. Organize the soldiers. Arm yourselves! And make ready for the last decisive battle.

The Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

G. Zinoviev,

Chairman.

Hail to the Third Socialist International

The celebration of the last of May is the only serious attempt of the second socialist International to pass from words to deeds and to weld the proletarians of all countries in common united action of wide import and impressive force. This attempt was not destined to reap complete success, and the fate of the May celebration was a significant forerunner of the ignominious failure of the Second International at the outbreak of the world war. Still, the May celebration has poured strong currents of rousing, kindling life into the masses of the exploited and oppressed, currents of a new life that has transformed innumerable hopeless sufferers into ardent fighters.

For in it works the might idea of international solidarity that knits the slaving toilers of the whole world together. And this idea is no airy dream of the

imagination. It is a living reality the expression of the identical conditions of existence that the rule of Capital creates all over the earth for the overwhelming majority of the enslaved, exploited workers; it is common knowledge drawn from common need that must lead to common will, to common action. Thus the idea of the international brotherhood of the world proletariat is an essential part of the great idea of liberation, that light on the way of the enslaved in their struggle against capital. Like the idea of liberation itself, it is at once the motive power and the aim that is to be realised in practice, and, therefore, it also shares its fate: to win amid struggles, amid seeking and groping, amid blunderings and defects slowly, much too slowly, for the fiery impatience of our hearts that long for an international that is to unite liberated mankind.

More than seventy years have gone by since the communist manifesto summoned us to turn the idea of the international solidarity of all the exploited into a powerful act of liberation.

«Workers of the world, unite!» This idea caught at hearts and called forth wills, and yet it took nearly two decades before it found tangible expression in the formation of the International Workmen's Association in London in 1864. But few years of action were granted to the first International, but weak were its material resources. Soon after the fall of the heroic Paris Commune the organisation collapsed. Yet in the short span of its existence it achieved immortal, imperishable deeds. It made the idea of international solidarity, the common property of all workers' associations that were desirous of leading the proletariat from want and darkness to freedom. The forms of the first International had become too narrow for the nascent, growing life that was the soul of the organisation and that had been aroused by it in all countries. The form passed, the life, the soul remained and continued to act all over the world.

And nearly two decades were to pass again before this life, this idea of the international solidarity of the world proletariat could become embodied in a union of fighting workers. In 1889 the second International was proclaimed at the international socialist and workmen's congress in Paris. No longer did it unite merely small, weak workmen's organisations in the first stage of their development, it was the proud league of socialist parties and professional organisations, young, and vigorously pushing ahead. It seemed to knit together a life full of inexhaustible, indomitable inner and external force, to give this life a common direction, a common aim, true to the principles of international socialism. The international congress after the other confirmed it by important, enlightening, unifying discussions, by wisely worded, stirring resolutions, by brilliant, overwhelming demonstrations. It seemed that the tremendous material and moral power accumulated in the second International was bound to turn into a mighty action against capitalism.

But the second International confined itself to remaining a mere workshop for the concoction of fine resolutions. Never was the common will, the total power of the united proletarians clenched into a mighty fist for carrying these resolutions into being. In spite of its lustre the Second International did not even accomplish the most urgent of economic reforms that ought to have been the corner-stone of the protection of labour,—the legal eight hours' working-day. And although its activity was determined by its belief in the high mission of parliamentarism, of bourgeois democracy, in no country had it brought about even the establishment of a true, full political democracy. And when its power and its worth were put to the test of tests it failed ignominiously. When the world war broke out it shrank from opposing the golden international of the power-maddened im-

perialists, the red International of the proletariat longing for freedom and resolved to fight for it.

The second International could not even say, with Francis I: «All is lost, except honour». It lost its honour first of all for it was defeated without showing fight. Loaded with shame it perished on the battle-fields where German proletarians and French proletarians murdered one another with the blessing of German social democracy and the united socialist party of France. The grand body of the Second International, its glittering pompous garments contained but a small, weak and timorous soul. A soul that over its joy of the earthworms of reform had lost its craving for the golden treasures of socialism. A spirit that failed to understand that the epoch of slow social evolution had been replaced by a period of stormy revolutionary progress. A will that preferred trading with bourgeois society for small concessions rather than fighting it for a high stake. The spirit, will and activity of the Second International in their main outlines had been minted by its «jewel», German social democracy. The decay of German social democracy, which concealed an opportunist bourgeois policy of reforms with socialistic phrases, was the chief cause of the death of the Second International. No attempts at galvanisation after the Stockholm or Bern pattern can resuscitate it.

But the idea of international solidarity did not perish with the Second International in the fratricidal war. It lived on in the proud «no» with which the social democrats in the Russian Duma and in the Serbian Skupstchina, and later on in the Italian Parliament, refused to grant the war credits to their governments, it added wings to the tenacious peace agitation of the British Independent Labour Party. While the patriotic war songs of the German, French, British and Austrian social democrats intermingled with the death-rattle of dying proletarians, with the cries of pain of the wounded, the idea of solidarity rose again to be the finger-post of the working masses in their struggle onward. It rose, bleeding from the mire, with countenance drawn and haggard with pain, covered with dirt and yet resplendent with sublime, immortal life. At the Women's International Socialist Conference at Bern in March, 1915, it pointed out to the socialists true to their principles, to the proletarians aroused from their sleep, the path they ought to take. It called out to them: enough talk, it is time to act. United be your will, united your action!

Like the dawn precursing the sunrise did this Bern Conference herald the Third Socialist International. The conferences at Zimmerwald, Kienthal and Moscow have drawn up its birth certificate, but the strongest evidence of its existence is furnished by the activity of the new International. To be sure, this existence is not yet regulated by rules and statutes. But it is bound by something infinitely higher, infinitely more binding: by the principles of International Socialism. To turn these principles from lip-service into action

such is the historical task, the *raison d'être* of the Third Socialist International. This it is that distinguishes it from its predecessor.

The idea of the international solidarity of the proletarians of all countries that has made the socialists set themselves courageously and self-sacrificingly against the madness of the fratricidal world war, this idea by its action has welded together the Third International. Amid the storms and flames of the world revolution it now binds it together still more closely, more insolubly. The disgrace of the unprincipled world war, policy of the second International has to sink into nothingness before the glory of the true socialistic policy of world revolution upheld by the Third International. By means of the world revolution the proletariat must rise once more from its deep fall during the world war to the heights of conscious fulfillment of its historical mission. The world revolution is the touchstone upon which the Third International must prove its right to existence. For in defiance of all negators of world revolution, of all sceptics, we already hear the roaring of the storm of world revolution.

For the revolution heroically begun in Russia has established and strengthened itself. By means of sabotage and white terror the propertied minority and its intellectual following tried to destroy the work of revolutionary socialism. With their power concentrated in the soviets the proletarians and landless peasants broke their resistance. The Red Army victoriously repulsed the foreign troops, which as hirelings of international imperialism were expected in union with the counter revolutionaries to throttle the young socialist republic. The latter did not succumb in the struggle, notwithstanding its having been robbed of its richest grain stores and cut off from the coal and petroleum districts, from all connection with the seas. Nay, the «bolshevik savages» even succeeded in alleviating the blackest misery of the masses, by means of far-reaching reforms and social provision in laying the foundation for a new economic order and, in particular, as regards public education, achieving work that, according to civilisation, the unquestionable testimony of Maxim Gorki, stands unprecedented in history.

In Germany the revolution has swept the crown off the head of the monster of capital. Now the struggle against the monster itself is at its hottest. For the German proletariat it is no longer a question of more or less political democracy and social reform in a capitalistic state. The aim of the struggle is the annihilation of capitalism itself, is the realisation of socialism. With violence and bloody terror the class dictatorship of the exploiter, exercised by the «proletarians» Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske opposes this aim. It is a deep tragedy in the German workers' struggle for liberation that proletarian upstarts, would-be social democrats with bombs and rifles in hand place themselves before the capitalistic

order as its protectors. But the handful of political jugglers will be swept away soon enough by the impetus of the revolutionary storm, irresistibly rushing on and preceded by the foaming billows of the strike movement.

The triumph of the proletariat in Hungary speaks with fiery tongues to the slaves of capitalism in all countries. With wonderful speed the revolution burst through the shell of national discord and exhibited its real kernel as class struggle between the indigent and enslaved producers and the idle pleasure-seeking ruling appropriators of social wealth. Overnight the Social Democratic party of Hungary «re-learned» its lesson and took its course to the left, and on its way to Damascus it met and joined the communists whom but a short time ago conjointly with the bourgeois democracy it had fought against and persecuted bitterly for the sake of preserving the national «*truce*».

The establishment of the socialist soviet republic in Hungary will increase the fears and the rage of the propertied minorities and their advocates in all countries. More than ever will they put their trust in the trinity of the rifle, the machine gun and the trench mortar. Yet the daring action of the Hungarian proletarians simultaneously strengthens the self-reliance, the fighting spirit and the creative will of the sweated and exploited working masses. It will stimulate the course of the revolution in places where it already rushes on to the fight against bourgeois rule. It will help to unchain revolution in places where imperialism believes to have overcome socialism. In the Allied countries also the appallingly glorious flames of revolution will burst forth out of the volcano of class contradictions. Already the earth is shaking with new blows of labour movements that continuously gain in strength, clearness of aim and resolution.

«The day will come!».

The idea of the international brotherhood of the proletarians of all countries asserts itself victoriously in the gigantic struggle of world revolution. The world revolution is the essence and the goal of the Third International. The Second International had for its ambition to achieve a world manifestation of the fighting proletariat. The victory of the world revolution has to be the title of honour of the Third International. For this victory we have to arm ourselves on the 1st of May. Our eyes unwaveringly turned towards our goal, our hearts full of glowing self-sacrifice, our will strong and unflinching. We lower our flags in sign of mourning for the heroic victims of the revolution, we flourish them joyously in the victorious battle, we carry them firmly and resolutely ahead in the last holy war of the workers. 1st greetings on the occasion of the May celebrations resounding in all corners of the world can only be: «Hail to the world revolution! Hail to the Third Socialist International!»

Clara Zetkin.

Labour and the League of Nations.

The League of Nations Commission on International Labour, appointed by the Council of Ten in Paris, has devised a «Charter of International Labour Legislation», which it is proposed to insert in the Peace Treaty. The Charter bears a striking resemblance to that adopted by the Government Socialists at Bern. We should not be surprised by that fact; it is not a chance coincidence. The approved policy of all Government Socialists, and of the weaker reformist Liberals, is always to find out what the Government means to give and then to ask for it. The Peace Conference Charter contains many of the out-of-date resolutions of the oldest of ancient conferences on Labour. Most of the things it offers have either been obtained here already or are about to be obtained; the most notable exception being «a reasonable standard of life» for the workers, and, of course, opinions differ acutely as to what is reasonable! The provisions include:

Children not to be gainfully employed under 14 years of age.

Persons between 14 and 18 not to do work harmful to their physical development, and to continue their education.

Every worker to have a wage adequate to maintain reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilisation of his time and country.

Equal pay for equal work. A weekly day of rest.

Forty-eight-hour week, subject to an exception for countries where climatic conditions, industrial development, or other circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different.

(That, we suppose, means that Africans, Indians and others whose power of protest is but feebly developed, will have to work longer hours).

Foreign workers to have the same treatment as nationals.

State inspection of factories and workshops.

A poor programme, but all that the League of Nations has to offer the workers, to prevent them turning to Bolshevik Socialism, which will make the workers the rulers of the world and its destiny. Wilson Harris, in *The Daily News* on March 21st quoted some personage at the Peace Conference.

«Now Bolshevism, whatever may be said about it, is a tremendous idealistic force—unquestionably the greatest idealistic force, in my opinion, since the birth of Christ. You may vilify it. You may spread reports of its excesses. You may advocate military measures against it. But there it remains—a tremendous idealistic force. There is only one way to fight an ideal. That is by opposing another ideal to it. And there is only one practical ideal in the world to-day that can oppose Bolshevism—the League of Nations».

And then the prophet came tumbling down from the heights and forgot all about idealism, saying: «The first weapon of the League must be food. You must have some force—police or military—to guard your lines of transport, but a loaf in your left hand is going to be more important than a sword in your right».

On March 31st this same Paris correspondent states that an investigator, employed by the British Government to make inquiries in Germany, has just returned and has reported that there will be a change of Government in Germany, but that a mere change of Government will not satisfy the country.

«The masses of the people would demand some control over administration, and this, it is submitted, could be obtained by the constitution of a national form of workmen's and soldier's council as the first Chamber... It is argued that such a compromise between the Soviet and Parliamentary system is necessary to conciliate the masses».

There is another admission. Firstly, we are told that Bolshevism is the strongest idealistic force since Christ, and, secondly, it is admitted that the parliamentary system does not give the masses of the people control over the government, but that the Soviet system does. The League of Nations is put forward as the one force that can stave off Bolshevism! And this is the Charter which the League of Nations offers to the workers as an alternative to Socialism!

The machinery of the International Labour Office which the Council of Ten («moved», they say, «by sentiments of justice and humanity»), are about to set up is as unsatisfactory as the Charter. It consists of a General Conference of four representatives from each of the countries represented; two of these four are to be representatives of the Government, one of employers of labour, and one of the workers. Labour is thus placed in a safe minority of one to three! Each delegate may be accompanied by two advisers, and where women's questions are concerned «one at least of the advisers should be a woman». This is to please the middle-class suffrage societies. Some of them will no doubt feel highly flattered by the idea that the governments have consented to allow the women to appear occasionally, in the proportion of one to eleven, and that sex barriers in the general League of Nations' machinery are verbally removed. The workers' and employers' delegates are to be selected in agreement with the most representative body of employers and work people, and the Conference by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, may refuse to admit any delegate not so appointed—Bolshevik views can thus easily be excluded by a vote of the Government and employers' representatives!

The governing body of the International Labour

Office is to consist of 24 members: 12 representing the Governments, 6 representing the employers' delegates to the Conference, 6 representing the workers' delegates. Thus Labour is placed in a minority of one to four!

The International Labour Office will collect and distribute information concerning international labour, and will publish a periodical in English and French.

If any country fails to fall in with the agreements made concerning labour, a commission of inquiry shall be chosen by the General Secretary of the League of Nations, from a panel consisting of three representatives of the Governments, three representatives of the employers, and three workers' representatives. Any of these representatives, «not deemed to be fully qualified», may be rejected by a two-thirds vote of the governing body. Thus, again, the Government and employers' representatives may together veto any of the workers' representatives to whom they may object. The offending State may appeal from the Commission of Inquiry to the «Permanent Court of International Justice», to be created by the League of Nations, the findings of which will be final! The offending State may have passed upon it «an economic sentence». We suppose this means that it may be blockaded and boycotted, and that its people may be starved. *The Times* states that «the British dominions and India will have the same rights and obligations as if they were separate high contracting parties, and this will apply to any colony of any signatory which the Executive Council of the League of Nations admits to be fully self-governing». But how can this be? India is not «fully self-governing». She has not even a semblance of self-government; the mass of the Indian people are absolutely without political rights. We wonder whom the British Government will choose to represent Indian labour; indeed we can hardly believe that they will allow the masses of the workers and peasants to choose their own representatives freely though they might safely do so, since labour in all countries is to be placed in a hopeless minority.

Labour in all countries should refuse to have anything to do with this scheme. It places labour in an insulting minority. It brings labour into the international machinery set up by the capitalist Governments to fight Socialism. It is the coping to the national machinery by which the Governments are seeking to divert labour from the direct independent action, in which it is daily growing more powerful and successful. In direct action the wire-pullers and negotiators take second place, and the rank and file are the rulers. By direct action the Russian working-classes, the industrial workers, the peasants, the soldiers and sailors, established a government and abolished landlordism and capitalism. By direct action the miners won the minimum wage and the eight-hour day; by the threat of direct action they have won the promise of a seven-hour day; by direct action the Glasgow women won the Rent Act.

In the political field labour's gains are infinitesimal;

any concessions made to labour during the war, and for years before that, were made in fear of strikes outside. The pleadings of labour men in Parliament fell on deaf ears.

In the committee room and at the conference table labour, always carefully placed in a minority there, is denied that which it is entitled to demand; and what is more, its spokesmen are too easily bamboozled into accepting the denial with thanks, as an installment of justice, urging the rank and file to accept it, in order to avoid conflict.

In the International Labour machinery labour will always be kept in a minority of one to three, or even one to four; and the Council of Ten, by giving to the employers' and governments' representatives the power to reject any of the labour nominees of whom they may disapprove, will secure that even this representation shall consist of thoroughly tame and subservient people. Evidently there will be secrets to be learnt at the International Labour Committee with which capitalism can only trust selected individuals who are warranted not to tell. Moreover, labour must be held in complete subjection on this body, because this is the international body which is to act as a drag on all the Whitley Councils set up in the various trades; a drag on the National Industrial Councils in the various countries. This International Council will be like the Local Government Board, which surcharges Poor Law Guardians who relieve too generously, and either refuses to approve or continually delays the various housing schemes and schemes for municipal trading put forward by local bodies. Even on the Whitley Councils labour will be in a minority, for the Chairman, appointed by the Government, can always cast his vote on the other side. Moreover, when it comes to legislation, the Governments will only adopt the recommendations of these various councils as, and when, it chooses. In the case of the coal inquiry and report was signed by three employers' representatives, one by two employers' representatives and the Chairman, one by six workers' representatives. The majority report was therefore the report of the workers' representatives; but the Government has chosen to act on the report submitted by the Chairman chosen by itself. So, too, with the International Industrial Council. If any combination of circumstances should produce a majority recommendation objectionable to international capitalism we believe the League of Nations would step in and arrange matters to suit itself. But such a contingency can scarcely arise since the workers are placed in so small a minority.

If the workers were to be diverted from their struggle to better their industrial conditions by the hope that this network of councils would do it for them their emancipation would indeed be indefinitely postponed. But this will not happen. The toiling masses are just waking to the need for rank and file control of the industrial machine; they have just devised and are perfecting the

organisation of that control; they are just beginning to see, that by travelling resolutely onward in that direction, they can take into their own hands the entire machinery of production and can govern society itself. It is impossible that they should leave behind that broad, inspiring prospect and revert to a still greater dependence upon official leaders. Above all, it is impossible that the workers should revert to dependence upon leaders who, failing to see the vision of frank and full cooperation and the triumph of the workers, have entered into partnership with the capitalists by accepting seats upon the Joint Industrial Councils. When Arthur Henderson joined the Coalition Government he gave his support to Conscription, the Defence of the Realm Act, and the Munitions Act, all of which were used to coerce the workers. He surrendered his freedom of independent protest; he accepted responsibility for the majority decision of the Cabinet; his lips were sealed. He has since declared that there were doings by the Coalition Government which in his view, were detrimental to the interests of the workers whose representative he was, and to society as a whole. He has said that he could embarrass the Government by disclosing these matters. But he reveals them to no one, because, having joined the Government, he holds himself bound to keep its secrets. We strongly disagree with this view; we think it is Henderson's duty to make these matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time we know that every artifice will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labour Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Councils. Only those Labour representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honour will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

The Powers that he are complacently preparing this network of Councils, which will take many months to arrive at even the simplest decisions, and which on big controversial matters cannot decide at all. Perhaps it is hoped that the workers will take years to discover that the Councils are ineffective.

Henderson and Huysmans, so often publicly snubbed by the Allied Governments, yet still playing the part of eager messenger boys to them, are busy in all these intrigues. *The Daily Herald* reports that Henderson, Ramsay MacDonald, Stuart Bunting, Renaudel, Longuet, and Huysmans are conferring in Paris on the Bern resolutions and the organisation of the International Labour News Agency; Henderson is also conferring with the British peace delegation, including Lord Robert Cecil, in regard to these matters. Oh, this wire-pulling and conferring with the guardians of capitalism! Organised on this basis it was no wonder that the Bern Conference condemned the Bolshevik Revolution. The International Labour News Agency will be equally safe, equally useful from the capitalist point of view. Mr. Henderson will be able sincerely to assure Lord Robert that its effort will

be to act as an antidote to Bolshevism. We have the capitalist press, the Ministry of Propaganda, and now we are to have the news bulletins of the Joint Councils of employers and trade union officials, and the International Labour News Agency!

And here is *The Herald* telling us a most curious story on the European situation:

«President Wilson and his friends and Lloyd George and his friends are doing what they can . . .

. . . Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel House are whole-hearted supporters of the League . . . Mr. Lloyd George and the American delegates have vainly tried to speed up the work of the Conference . . . Mr. Lloyd George has again and again declared that the settlement must be one that leaves no bitterness and that we must not create other Alsaces and Lorraines by robbing Germany of either part of the territory on the Rhine or in West Prussia».

All the delay, all the mercenary grabbing, all the cruel starvation of defenceless peoples by the blockade, the intervention in Russia, are all these supposed to be due to France and Italy? It is absurd to suggest it. America and Britain are more powerful, more able to impose their will, than France and Italy. Moreover, every day brings further news showing that Britain and America are playing an active part in all that is going forward.

Our Government is blockading the starving peoples of Europe. We are sending war equipment to those who are fighting the Bolsheviks, beside taking a hand in the fighting ourselves. We are sliding gradually into a great international war. The New Army Annual Bill authorises a military force of 2,650,000 men, exclusive of those serving in India. It extends the penalties to those who encourage or assist deserters, to those who do the same for absentees. It provides penalties up to two years' imprisonment for those who spread reports prejudicial to recruiting. The Navy is appealing for volunteers for Russia, to sign on for nine months, boatswains and motormen are to get 13 10s. a month. A. B.'s and firemen 12 pound a month, free kit or an allowance, and in addition, «river transport allowance» of 2.2s. a week, to start on April 12th. The American Government is asking for 50,000 volunteers for three years' service in Europe—for Italy, France, or Russia. The French Foreign Minister on March 26th gave the following figures of troops in Russia:

Archangel—18,000 British, 4,820 Americans, 2,349 French, 1,340 Italians, 1,280 Serbians and 11,770 Russians.

Siberia—Czecho-Slovaks 55,000, Poles 12,000, Serbians 4,000, Italians 2,000, British 1,600, French 760, Japanese 28,000, Americans 7,500, Canadians 4,000, making a total of 118,000 men, to which Pichon says must be added 92,000 Russian forces.

East Russia—French 140,000, Rumanians 19,000, British 140,000, Italians 40,000, Serbians 140,000, Greeks 200,000.

It is by no means certain that these are all the Allied troops in Russia. Regarding the military situation, the Allies seem to be loosing ground in the North and South, whilst Koltchak is said to be gaining in the Urals.

It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that strong forces are driving the Allied countries further and further into the war against Socialism. It is not only *The Morning Post* which declares: «Bolshevism must be fought» and «in Russia». *The Daily Chronicle* also says: «The Associated Powers . . . are at war with Russian Bolshevism and we see no easy prospect of their making peace with it».

Now the Hungarian Bolshevism has joined Russia, it is important to notice that the General Assembly of Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, by 1,470 votes to 20, sent a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Hun-

gary, pledging itself not to rest «until the final victory of Socialism is assured». But a short time ago the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared for Parliamentary Government with a Coalition, and against the Soviet form of Government with immediate Socialism; the change is significant and will shortly result in action. Even official Germany is growing more independent in its attitude towards Allied demands, and seeing it the Allies grow less prudent. Whilst the workers of Central and Eastern Europe turn towards the Soviets, the Allies prepare to fight Hungary as well as Russia. Reuter reports that Foch has consulted with the Council of Four regarding the military aspect. *L'opinionnaire*, March 26th, announces that two British monitors have arrived in Budapest.

B. Sylvia Pankhurst.

WORLD REVOLUTION

(Chapters from a New Book).

World Revolution is inevitable, because Imperialism of all nations: the Imperialism of all the world, is equally horrible for the proletariat.

The International proletariat must, therefore, combine, in order to destroy World Imperialism.

But Imperialism cannot be destroyed without destroying Capitalism.

That is why social revolution, a revolution directed towards the destruction of Imperialism and the organization of socialism, has become at present inevitable.

II.

There is no way out of imperialism for capitalism. And for this reason there is no salvation for the proletariat in imperialism.

Imperialist capitalism has broken up all the nations of the earth into two groups, the aim of which is world conquest.

Three powerful nations, Germany, England and the United States, are the leaders in the struggle of those two groups.

But in the present epoch a peaceful solution of this conflict is absolutely unthinkable. All three powerful nations, together with all the peoples connected with them, are striving towards world domination,—the domination of one of the nations or groups of nations.

And there exists no means of deciding this dispute except by War.

It is true that the bourgeoisie and together with it reformists, social-patriots, and would-be Marxists are

seeking other solutions, but these solutions are visionary, and serve only to mystify and to subjugate the proletariat of the whole world.

Neither a compulsory court of arbitration, nor a «League of Nations»; neither disarmament, nor the right of nations for self-determination, nor «democracy», nor any of the other means that are served up to us can withdraw capitalism from the three internal contradictions with which it has become involved, it cannot free it from an enormous accumulation of surplus value, and from the consequences of this accumulation,—it cannot avoid the tendency to expansion, it cannot avoid the conquests which it must make in war or the self destruction which results directly from it.

Capitalism is involved in the insoluble contradictions of having to accumulate surplus values and at the same time to destroy them. The proletariat no longer can tolerate this. It must rise in revolt in order to free itself from the horrors of slavery and wholesale murder.

But they can escape imperialism only by destroying capitalism.

In this manner, their revolt, their struggle is converted into an inevitable revolution against world capitalism, into social revolution of the proletariat of the whole world, into world revolution.

III.

And this revolution is possible owing to the following causes:

Capitalism has matured for socialism.

The war created the foundation of socialism. Capi-

talism is itself compelled to pass over to socialism, of course to «State Socialism».

Thus, the proletariat acts in the direction of the general development of humanity.

Meanwhile both the material and moral consequences of war are so horrible for the proletariat that it is inevitably impelled towards revolution.

The destruction of human and other productive forces, sorrow, hatred, hunger, ceaseless sanguinary warfare,—all impel the proletariat towards revolution,—either during a war or upon its termination.

The organized international proletariat is strong enough to realize revolution.

According to our opinion, the following programme must be accepted by the international proletariat:

Transference of the state power into the hands of the proletariat.

Transference of the legislature to the proletariat.

A guaranteed minimum standard of existence to the workers.

Transference to the proletariat of the management of all production, trade and transport.

Transference to the proletariat of the distribution of products.

Compulsory labour for all.

The repudiation of State debts.

Confiscation of war profits.

Taxes to be imposed only on capital and incomes taxes imposed on capital should be progressive so as to lead to its confiscation.

Expropriation of the banks.

Expropriation of large industrial undertakings.

Socialisation of the land.

Transference of judicial functions to the proletariat.

Abolition of all customs and tariffs.

Destruction of militarism. Arming of the proletariat.

On the basis of this programme the international proletariat can bring over to its side and unite all the workers, all the enslaved working classes.

With this programme it will conquer.

IV.

The world proletariat has already an example of revolution placed before it: the Russian revolution is a radiant symbol for the proletariat of the whole world.

It has shown that there exist but two means to conquer: unity of the proletariat, national and international, and unity in revolution.

If there is no unanimity with the proletariat of one country, it remains the slave of the national bourgeoisie,

If there is no unanimity with the international proletariat, it becomes the slave of the international bourgeoisie.

If the proletariat does not struggle for a decisive revolution, for the complete overthrow of capitalism, and does not conduct this struggle to a decisive victory, it will not bring salvation to the proletariat and to other enslaved classes, and will not carry with it all the workers and all the enslaved classes.

The Russian revolution has taught us something more than this.

It has found the form in which the proletariat can conquer,—workers' soviets in every village, province and country.

Workers' soviets in which the whole economic and political power is concentrated.

Workers' soviets which destroy capitalism and create socialism, which expropriate capitalism and transfer all the power and all the wealth to socialism: workers' soviets which form socialism economically and politically.

Workers' soviets which represent the form and substance of a new society, of a new humanity.

Workers' soviets which at present embrace only the fighting proletariat, only the victorious proletariat, but which at some time will embrace the whole of humanity.

Soviets of labour, labour,—and only labour,—soviets which some time will become the highest and most sacred corporations of humanity.

Therefore, unity of the proletariat within each country: unity of the international proletariat combination, organization of the proletariat in workers' soviets: these are the three great principles which the Russian revolution teaches the proletariat of the whole world.

When West-European, when North American and when the World proletariat will be one,—when it creates a new International, an International of world revolution; when it will be unanimous in revolution, organizes itself into workers' soviets, and transfers to them the whole of the economic and political power,—then the international proletariat will conduct world revolution to victory.

Already we see in the not far distant future, a new International which unites the workers' soviets of all countries.

Already we see, quite close to us, a central workers' soviet of the whole world.

Already we see in front of us international soviets, the forerunners of a new, free communist humanity.

Herman Horter

(Dutch Communist).

A REMARKABLE BOOK.

(«Le Feu», by Henri Barbusse)

In this astonishingly simple and mercilessly truthful book it is told how people, belonging to different nations, but equally sensible, exterminate each other, destroy the century old fruits of their untiring and splendid efforts, turning cathedrals, palaces, houses into heaps of dirt, razing cities, villages, vineyards to the ground, ruined hundreds of thousands of acres of land, beautifully cultivated by their forefathers, and now for a long time encumbered with lumps of iron and poisonous with the rotting flesh of innocently slain men.

In the midst of this senseless work of self-destruction and annihilation of civilization, these men are capable of reasoning on everything that irritates their skin and nerves, trouble their hearts and minds—they pray to God, pray sincerely, and as one of the heroes of the book describes, pray «idiotically uniformly», after which they again begin their savage work of suicide just as «idiotically uniformly.» On page 239—240 the reader will find this picture of the divine worship of the French and the Germans, each equally sincerely convinced, that in this bloody and vile business of war «God is with us».

And it is they again who say «God spurns us». And they, the heroes, the martyrs, the fraternalicides, question each other:

«But still, how dare he, this God, let all people equally think that he is with them and not with the others».

They reason touchingly, like children, these men who spill each others' blood. They say:

«If God, the merciful and good, existed, it could not be so cold».

But thus clearly reasoning, these great sufferers again go to kill each other.

Why? What for? They know that too,—they say of themselves:

«Oh, we are not all of us bad but so wretched and miserable. And then we are stupid, much too stupid».

And understanding this, they continue the shameful, criminal work of destruction.

Corporal Bertrand knows more than the rest, he speaks with the voice of the sage:

«The Future!—he cried suddenly with the voice of a prophet. With what eyes will those look on us who are to live after us and whose souls at last will be balanced by the progress which is as inevitable as destiny. With what eyes will they look on this slaughter, and on our deeds of which we ourselves who do them, know not whether to compare to the deeds of Plutarch's or Corneille's

heroes, or those of the Paris apaches. And yet, look. There is one face, one figure, looming large above the war, shining eternally with beauty and manhood.

— Leaning on my stick, bending down to him I listened and drunk in these words, sounding in the silent night from lips nearly always mute. With his clear voice he cried:

— Liebknecht!

— He stood up, with arms still folded. His handsome face bearing the earnestness of a statue, was bowed on his breast. But he soon lifted his head again and spoke:

— The future! The future! The work of the Future is to smoothe out this Present, wipe it from the memory of men, as a thing shameful and disgusting. And yet, this present is indispensable, indispensable.

— Shame to warlike glory, shame to armies, shame to the trade of soldiers, that turns men into brainless victims, into vile butchers!

— Yes! shame! This is true,—but it is over true: truth for eternity, but not yet for us. It will be truth, when it will be built between other truths, that we can attain only later, when our spirit is cleansed. We are very far from this yet. Now, in the present moment, this truth is nearly an error; and this holy word a profanation.

«He laughed a curious, ringing laugh and then continued, thoughtful:

— I once said to them, that I believe in prophecies, only to get up their courage and make them go forward».

But speaking thus this manly man, respected by all the men of his half-company, leads them to senseless slaughter and dies on a muddy field littered with rotting corpses.

In all this, brightly, mockingly a deadly contradiction burns that lowers man to the level of a blind tool, some loathsome machine, made by an evil and dark power to serve a hellish purpose.

Near and dear to the soul are these luckless heroes, but, in truth, they seem as apers, carrying in themselves the ever irreconcilable contradiction of reason and will. It seems as if their reason were strong enough to put a stop to this loathsome war, end the world-enwrapping crime, but—they have no will, and understanding the whole baseness of killing, denying it in their souls,—they still go to kill, destroy, and die in blood and filth.

«Battles are made by our hands, they say. We serve as material for war! It consists only of the flesh and soul of simple soldiers. It is we who heap the plains with corpses and fill the rivers with blood, we, although each of us is invisible and voiceless, for our number is all too great. Desert towns, ruined villages and hamlets: all this is we, and only we!

— Yes, this is true. The war is the people, and without them there would be nothing, except perhaps abuse from afar. But the war is decided not by them, but by those who rule them.

— The nations fight now to get rid of these rulers. This war is nothing else but the continuation of the French Revolution.

— In that case, you are working for the Prussians as well.

— Let us hope so, — acquiesced one of the sufferers.

— The peoples are nothing, but they ought to be everything, — said a man looking at me questioningly; he repeated the century-old historic phrase, unknown to him, but to which he gave, at last, its great universal meaning.

— And this miserable man, crouching on all fours in the mud, lifted his face, the face of a leper, and thirstily looked forward, into infinity.

What will he see there? We believe, that he will see his descendants, free, reasonable and strong of will.

This terrible and joyful book was written by Henri Barbusse, a man who himself experienced all the horrors and senselessness of war.

This is not the show-book of the genius Tolstoi, who contemplates war in the distant past; this is not the plaintive tale of Bertha Suttner, «Down With War», a work written with good intentions, but incapable of convincing or disconvincing anybody of anything.

This is a book, simple as the gospel, full of prophetic wrath, this is the first book that speaks of the war simply, sternly, quietly, with the essential force of truth. There are no pictures here to bring romance into war, to burnish its filthy bloody horror in all the colours of the rainbow.

Barbusse describes the week-days of war, he showed war as work, as the heavy and dirty work of mutual extermination of men, innocent of all save stupidity. In his book there are no poetically and heroically coloured images of actions, no descriptions of manly deeds of individual soldiers — Barbusse's book is saturated with the stern poetry of truth, it shows the heroism of a nation, the heroism of hundreds of thousands, of millions of men, doomed to death and annihilation by the great enemy of the people — Capital.

This Devil, perfectly real, untiringly active among us, is the principal hero of Barbusse's book. Blinding thousands of simpletons by the false lustre of ideas and teachings, futile, to will, poisoning them with the poison of greed, envy, selfishness. He drove millions of men to the fruitful fields of France, and there, for the last four years they destroy all the fruits of nearly two centuries of arduous toil, once more proving to their own selves, that the direst enemy of man is his own lack of will and reason.

Barbusse has looked deeper than any before him, into the essence of war and showed men the abyss of their error with the voice of the preacher of a new gospel.

Each page of his book is a blow dealt with the iron hammer of truth to all the mass of lies, hypocrisy, cruelty, filth and blood, that in general is called war. His gloomy book is awful through its merciless truthfulness, but in the gloom he pictures the will-o'-the-wisp of a new knowledge — and this will-o'-the-wisp, we believe, will soon flare up into a world-enveloping flame, cleansing the earth of the dirt, blood, falsehood and hypocrisy brought into the world by the demon Capital. The men of Barbusse already begin to deny the power of God over man, and this is a true sign that they soon shall feel, with shame and wrath, how criminal and loathsome is the power of man over his fellows.

We live in tragic days, life is unbearably hard for us, but we live on the eve of the resurrection to free creation and labour of all the good forces in man. This is truth, and this must console us, strengthen us, give us courage.

Maxim Gorki.

THE COAL SITUATION

On the heels of the offer of 5s. a week added to their wages, Mr. Lloyd George throws at the miners a Commission under Judge Sankey. William Brace asked for the Commission's report on hours and wages on March 12th, three days before the miner's notice to strike was up, but was satisfied with a report on March 20th, five days after the notice to strike terminates. Mr. Brace, along with Tom Richards, went to South Wales and urged the miners to vote against a strike. It may be forgotten that Mr. Brace was for a time Under Secretary at the Home Office, a position he occupied at a time when the South Wales miners found it more than ever necessary to be on their guard against the army of agent provocateurs employed by the Government in the interests of the mine owners. One can readily realise that Brace's pressure for a report on March 12th was a sham, and that he was only too anxious to defer the strike till after March 20th in the hope that it would not come off.

Government agents have also got at some of the other miner's leaders and convinced them that Bolsheviks are responsible for the attitude of the miners, and that their object is revolution and not merely a slight improvement in the miner's lot. These leaders will do anything to stave off a fight. This compromising Commission offers them a means of salvation. These men were the most active in inducing the miners to fight for British against German capitalism in the late war, and they are just as intent on seeing the British working class pay a perpetual indemnity to the British capitalist class in the form of the interest on the National Debt of eight thousand million pounds—an indemnity placed on the workers because Lloyd George won the war.

The miner's leaders will fail for fear of Revolution. It is thus all the more necessary that the unofficial movement prepare itself to carry on the fight independently—for the fight must go on. As long as British capitalism actively tries to crush the triumphant workers of Russia and the Spartacists of Germany, it is the duty of the fighting workers here to keep British capitalism busy.

Readers should stamp it in to their minds that this preparation for the class war is not the exclusive busi-

ness of the miners. The miners are but the vanguard of the workers, and they rightly expect that if they accept the dangerous front-rank position other workers will determinedly back them up.

Therefore, all readers of *The Call* should force the place inside their respective workshops and unions and see that their fellows demand a thirty-hour week maximum, with a wage having a higher purchasing power than their wages had in 1914.

If the present pressure on the capitalists is to be effective it must not be the pressure of a million miners but of at least ten million workers; in other words, it must be a full working class pressure. To achieve this it is not necessary to have the machinery of industrial unionism; all that is required is the class spirit and unity of demand.

Undoubtedly, the majority of the leaders will help the capitalists. That will be all to the good for the sooner they are discredited the better for the continuance of the fight. Win or lose, the workers must return to the assault again and again, and every time with a stiffer demand. We must not be afraid of the cry that the country will be insolvent, since approximately all interest to meet the National Debt is taken from the workers to put into the pockets of the capitalist parasites. The national insolvency of which the capitalist Press speaks will occur when the workers refuse to work long hours for low wages to feed the plundering capitalists and their hangers-on. Equally we must spurn the suggestion that our fight will help America in the race for markets. We have seen the same race, between Germany and Britain lead on to the world's bloodiest war, and we can confidently expect the race already started to lead on to conflict with America in about five years. We should be inspired by the world-market monopoly bogey to fight all the more unitedly, and fiercely, in the sure and certain hope that the American workers and ourselves will paralyse the capitalism of both countries, take power, and with our comrades everywhere run the world for the world's workers.

John Maclean.

The Economic Programme of the Communists.

Socialism is no longer merely a watchword for which the working class had, and, in countries with a bourgeois order, still has to struggle, in whose name the proletariat constructed its organizations, illumining their daily tasks with its light; Socialism now is a practically realizable social system.

Once the dictatorship of the proletariat is proclaimed, as it is in Russia and Hungary, and apparently will be in the near future in other countries, the transformation on new principles of the entire social, economic order becomes unavoidable. All who have dealt in theories of scientific socialism have written on this*). The expropriation of the expropriators, the reorganization of production, exchange distribution and of the whole intricate system of economic administration on new socialistic lines, all this is the logical consequence of a Social revolution.

This we have seen wherever authority has passed into the hands of the workers.

In Russia, Hungary and those parts of Germany where the proletariat has enforced its authority, in all the manifestations of the labour movement in other countries, we see one common system carried out with remarkable unanimity, proving that what is now going on is the result not of casual circumstances, but of a deep-lying law of social development.

Such a situation changes the very essence of the construction of a programme.

In all programmes of socialist parties prior to the socialistic revolution we see a definite division into maximum- and minimum-programmes. The maximum-programme is socialism, towards which social development is tending; it is what we must fight for, what must be attained. The minimum programme is what is absolutely necessary, in the interest of the struggle for the final object, to achieve within the bounds of the bourgeois order. The minimum programme had a relative value; its importance was determined by the best conditions of the struggle for socialism.

However, part of the socialists in bourgeois society (and an exceedingly considerable portion in some countries), exchanged the revolutionary meaning and essence of the Socialist programme (remarkably developed already by the Communist Manifesto) for the phillistine bourgeois theory of evolutionary development.

* Thus for instance, K. Kautsky, — who, more's the pity, has forgotten much of the good things he once wrote, — says: „If the proletariat takes possession of political power, socialism will follow of itself as the result of this“. („A Sketch of the Problems of International Socialism“, by Kautsky, p. 63).

The revisionists (especially the Bernsteinists) advanced this proposition: „the aim is nothing; the movement is all“. The minimum programme was given primary, exceptional importance. The struggle for an eight-hour day, arbitration, universal suffrage and the like became the socialists' „positive policy“, while socialism as such was put away „for Sundays“ and relegated to the „silver casket“ to be taken out only on particularly solemn occasions; on the stage figured the famous theory of patching and renovating the bourgeois order, of painless transition to the socialistic order, etc.

This „liberal policy“ in the labour movement, produced by a whole series of objective causes, played, as we now know perfectly well, a part pernicious, fatal for the existence of the entire Second International.

A proneness to be content with small achievements, cooperation with the bourgeoisie, parliamentary cretinism, all this created in the end a definite tendency in the activity of the majority of the Second International.

The process of decomposition went on inside and showed up vividly at the moment of capitalism's greatest world crisis, the imperialistic war of 1914-17.

Only a comparatively small group of socialists remained true to the old flag and did not forget the fundamental object of the struggle — socialism as such.

When the question: „to be or not to be“, was the issue, the upper stratum of the movement in the Second International proved to be blind to the problems of the historical moment and to be in a state of such close cohesion, materially and psychologically, with the essence of the capitalistic order, that it betrayed the interests of the proletariat of the world and sided with the bourgeoisie of all countries and of each individual country. The maximum programme was sacrificed, thrown overboard in favour of the „positive“ interests of the bourgeoisie, disguised under the denomination of „national interests.“

Rupture between those who advocated the necessity of establishing de facto the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the inevitability, — at the time of the bourgeoisie's profound dissolution (and such a time in its essence, was the war) — of the transition to the new social order, — and those who still clung to the tumbling bourgeois order and strove to stem the tide of historical movement, was not to be avoided. And the rupture took place . . .

It is a characteristic fact that those who, at one time — like, for instance, Kautsky, — so wittily with such true aim, ridiculed Bernstein for his revisionistic

enthusiasm, now adopt his views in their entirety. For Kautsky and his followers socialism remained in the "silver casket", remains a mere phrase, not a live system, demanding practical realization.

The development of social revolution is giving the contest a very definite solution, and to those for whom the scientific theory of socialism is not a dead letter, a dry, dead, cloudy scheme, but the reflection of something living and real, a matter of revolutionary practice, this solution, already sanctioned by contemporary history, is perfectly plain.

Socialism, for our time, our epoch, is a practical thing demanding daily enactment.

But, under these conditions, the division of the programmes into maximum and minimum, becomes senseless. Both are fused into one harmonious whole.

Practically, the thing was done, and is done, as follows: from the moment that power passes into the hands of the proletariat, the old minimum programme takes effect, i. e., all the demands concerning the eight-hour day, labour control, the nationalization of land, etc., are carried out.

But, simultaneously with the transfer of authority into the hands of the proletariat, entirely new demands spring up, which had, and could have no place in the old minimum programme, adapted as it was to the conditions of a bourgeois order of things.

The first to rise are questions of administration, inevitably based on principles other than in bourgeois society. Then come the questions of the socialisation of the means of production, the organization of distribution, the organization of labour. This is already a beginning of the introduction of the socialistic order; it is not yet socialism in the full meaning of the word, only the first step, the first foundation laid. In this respect practice, immediate activity quickly begins to outrun the former theory of socialism, completing it and making it a concrete thing. The socialistic order already has the history and the stages of its development, its improvements will advance, to all intents, at a more rapid pace than was the case in anterior epochs of social life.

Under the socialist order the development of the country's productive forces, rejecting the old capitalistic forms, necessitates a system of measures promoting the greatest possible, most intensive augmentation of production, making the best possible use of labor, giving a harmonious combination of various activities in the economic sphere and a centralized administration.

One of socialism's most fundamental tasks is the organized satisfaction of society's requirements. This demands a corresponding organization of production. The most searching minds did not and could not foresee what would happen to the country's economic life at the moment of the transition to the new order of things. The attention of even such masters as

Marx and Engels and others after them,—was entirely centred on the one idea that the socialistic order would call forth an unprecedented florescence and sudden development of productive forces. Instead of which, there lies between the starting point—(the end of capitalism) and the final establishment of socialism, a most painful transition period, during which the capitalistic system dissolves and falls to pieces and the new order is but shaping itself, inevitably involving a temporary but profound decay of production and disarray of the country's economic life.

This was not taken into account by the teachers of Socialism, but had to be encountered in the practical process, and therefore the most important starting point of the new programme, is, first of all, the raising of production.

Soviet Russia was the first country that had to face the tremendous difficulties in this particular province and to surmount them with the utmost straining of her strength, in an atmosphere of constant struggle, not with the Russian bourgeoisie alone, but also, and especially with the banditti of international capitalism.

And, nevertheless, in spite of all the prophecies of our enemies Soviet Russia succeeded, not merely in steadying, but, to their great vexation, in some respects improving the economic situation. In this respect Soviet Russia's example is most instructive.

If we now turn to the fundamental branches of industry, the facts that face us are the following: in the course of the year 1918, and the first half of 1919, as many as 2,000 of the most important enterprises have been nationalized, in other words no less than 90% of the country's entire industry. It should here be noted that the tidings of the alleged nationalization of small trade, which the bourgeois press is spreading, are without exception founded on distortions of truth.

The majority of these enterprises has been and is working, all the time. An investigation held at the end of 1918 has shown that the number of workers had decreased, on an average, by 20% and that mostly in the demobilized enterprises, and in the average-sized and small ones. In a series of large establishments the number of workers has increased. More than that. The Supreme Council of Public Economy is organizing new enterprises: 15 large ones are in course of construction. In 1919 was completed the construction of a large engine-construction plant, in the city of Podolsk; two new electric power plants are being built, with the help of which it is planned to supply electricity to the entire region around Moscow. In Saratof the construction of an immense factory for agricultural machines has just been begun.

The greatest difficulty which Soviet Russia has had to encounter is the shortage of fuel, that most essential factor of production and transport. Her enemies, in their efforts to undermine her strength, are aiming their heav-

iest blows in this direction. Fuel used to be supplied from the following localities: The Don Basin gave the largest bulk of coal (up to 1,200 million poods). The Baku region exported petroleum (up to 400 mill. poods out of a general production of 600 mill. poods). These are the very regions which, through the whole of 1918, have been cut off and separated from Soviet Russia; the Don Basin was, with the support of the French bourgeoisie, occupied by General Krasnof, who assiduously kept hanging the miners. Baku was taken possession of by the English and is still in their hands.

Soviet Russia has been living all 1918 and half of 1919 on a few unconsiderable remnants of old stores, besides 66 mill. poods of petroleum which it succeeded in evacuating from Baku; in addition to which 58 mill. poods of peat were procured, and the coal region under Moscow exploited at the rate of 2 to 3 mill. poods a month, which made about 30 mill. poods coal for 1918 besides preparing as much as 2 mill. cubic sages of wood. Only extreme economy in the use of fuel made it possible to keep transport and production going at all.

As regards fuel, 1919 promises to be worse than 1918, since Baku is still in English hands, and the Don Basin, though now almost entirely in ours, is a waste, after the way General Krasnof has run things there. The programme of production for 1919 includes about 60 mill. poods peat, 2½ mill. poods coal (exclusive of the Don Basin) and about 5 to 6 mill. cubic sages of wood. The Donets will yield up to 10 mill. poods of coal.

It is easy to see how hard it is to «increase» production under such conditions.

Things have undoubtedly improved, compared to 1918, as regards procuring and supplying raw materials, though here again General Koltchak's raid in the East has prevented the timely arrival of so important an article as cotton. As much as 5 mill. poods of cotton has been bought in Turkestan for 1919. The first trains have already arrived; 4 mill. poods of flax have been got together in 1919 so, with the balance on hand there are about 5½ mill. poods ready for use. 2 mill. poods of flax can be freely exported for the foreign market. About 2 mill. poods of wool have been collected in the first half of 1919, the full demand for the factories being 3 mill. poods for the year; so that the cloth and woollen factories will be fully supplied with raw material.

Considerable quantities of leather (hides), furs, hemp, etc., have been collected part of which might be exported.

The supply of metals is proceeding more or less normally, although here also the seizure of the Don and the Ural has had grievous consequences. Such are the conditions under which the industries have received their supply of raw material. The chief of these—such as metal, flax, wool, leather—constitute government monopolies.

Production has proceeded very unevenly, for very

various reasons: shortage of food stuffs, of fuel, irregular transport of raw material, etc.

Still in certain respects, production is undoubtedly improving. The industrial statistics for 1918 shows that fully 10% of the enterprises have raised their production, as compared to 1917.

Great industries play a dominant part. In Soviet Russia State trusts have been formed in all principal branches and are gathering strength: the immense State trust in the metallurgical and machine-building lines, «Gomza», «Centromed», «Glavrezine», as many as twenty so called «domestic industries» have been united into one great textile industry.

... The utmost centralization of production in the sense of unification of the several branches and groups of branches and of concentration into the best possible units of production, with regard to the swift solution of economical problems. So says the programme.

All the measures taken, as well as the more detailed demands specified in the programme, are directed towards the realization of the above indicated «sole all-embracing State plan» for the development of production. This programme has in view not industry alone, but also rural economy (first and foremost the organization of socialistic farms on a larger scale) and, indeed, even the so-called «domestic industries», («to provide for the painless transition from these backward forms of production to the higher forms of wholesale mechanization of industry»).

We know very well that small trade and small farming in town, and particularly in the country, will live and exist for a long, a very long time. The process of their transition to new forms will be extremely slow.

Only by experimenting, by spontaneous admission of the advantages of unification and methods of wholesale production, on no account by violent means, as the programme specially emphasizes, is this process possible.

The realization of new economic tasks demands an enormous outlay of energy.

The creation of a new administrative machinery in place of the old bourgeois apparatus presented such difficulties as the theoreticians of socialism never could imagine or realize.

To begin with, all the forces of the old order, engineers, technicians, heads and managers of institutions, who were born and reared in a capitalistic sphere and had absorbed all its ways and habits,—took up an extremely hostile attitude towards the new order of things, opposed and still oppose open and covert resistance. It is characteristic, that even this resistance was broken after they had entered the service of the new labour government, they frequently by their rearing proved little fit for the construction of new forms of life and economic activity.

Taken in their bulk, with few exceptions, these men, after the social revolution, did not organize, did not con-

struct or create, as, owing to their knowledge, experience and the wide possibilities before them they might have done. They only did, as becomes hirelings, what they were told to do (and often did it badly, wickedly rejoicing at every failure).

They had «to be made use of», no more. Hence the enmity and distrust which the working masses naturally feel towards them. This enmity is of a complex nature: in the first place, it is based on the fact that the workers see in the specialists the devoted servants of yesterday's masters and in the second place they feel the resistance, the often covert «sabotage», with which the specialists perform any kind of work.

Still, it is clear, that in the twentieth century, industry cannot do without specialists. The process of changing people's natures and adapting them to given conditions is a slow and lengthy one. Until our own specialists grow up, who will lovingly build up socialist husbandry, we have to take what is left us by the bourgeois order. However, the question of organizers is but one aspect of the general questions of the proper construction of the machinery of economic administration. The most important, essential problem is—how to bring this machinery into organic cohesion with the proletarian masses, to rid it of bureaucratism, to place it so that the labouring masses can control its working and take part therein. Experience shows that Soviet organizations frequently and easily change into bureaucratic ones, permeated with the routine spirit of officialdom, with the latter's habitual estrangement from life, with its red tape and narrow department interests. There is but one way out of this: to lean on the workers' trade unions. It should be observed that the majority of the latter, even before the October revolution, were animated by the spirit of communism. The first All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which took place in January, 1918, consisted of communists in overwhelming majority, 273; then came 21 social-revolutionists, 66 mensheviks, 50 «non party-men», maximalists, etc.

The first All-Russian Trade Union Congress clearly and definitely declared: that «the centre of gravity of the trade unions' work at the present moment must be transferred to economic organization. The trade unions, as proletarian class institutions, constructed on production principles, must take on themselves the main work of the organization of production and the restoration of the country's greatly impaired productive forces».

(See the minutes of «the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, p. 364).

Nevertheless there were found not a few comrades and workers in economic organizations who opposed this direction of the trade unions' activity.

At the present time this dispute may be considered settled both in practice and in theory. Life has entirely confirmed the judgment of those who proposed to base economical administration on the professional unions.

The Congress of the Communist Party not only definitely confirmed the above proposition, but deepened it. «The machinery of organization», it is said in the programme, «of socialized industry must rest in the first place on the trade unions. They must rid themselves more and more of guild narrowness and turn themselves into large industrial unions, embracing the majority and, by degrees, the whole of the workers in a given branch of production».

And further: «... The trade unions must arrive at the actual concentration in their own hands of the entire administration of the whole national economy, as a single economic unit».

By acting along these lines the organs of our economic administration will lose their pernicious bureaucratic spirit.

In order to compass our economic progress we have to keep up a fierce struggle with the expiring forces of the old capitalistic order. We cannot expect to achieve brilliant results all at once; but we cannot and must not be discouraged by temporary failures.

Our programme must take the facts of the present time into proper account and we must rest our hopes on those parts of it which have a future. The communists' economic programme is nothing but an acting instruction given to those working masses who were the first to take the helm of economic management into their hands.

«Our doctrine», wrote Marx, «is a guide to action». — So is the communists' programme.

The social life of our times is developing with extreme rapidity.

There is much that proves possible to overcome and to realize in a comparatively short time, much that will have to be altered, rejected, replaced by new things. But there is nothing in this to be troubled at. Whoever wants to live, must go ahead.

N. Millutin.

Moscow, May 21st, 1919.

Economic Revolution in Hungary.

(From Capitalistic to Socialistic Production).

The most important problem, the nucleus of dissent between communists and social democrats, is the question, whether conditions are ripe enough for leaving the basis of capitalistic and going over to communistic production. The ways and means of solving this problem is in all countries of the world the main point at issue between the Marxists, standing on the ground of class war and the Scheidemannists, who have lost themselves in a warren of bourgeois ideology.

In the carrying into effect of the socialization of production in Hungary we see a clear and decisive solution of the question.

Within four weeks all the means of production, that is more than 27,000 factories and works, from the biggest to the smallest, all commercial concerns and shops equally from the biggest to the smallest, were not only in theory but practically withdrawn from under private ownership and turned into the property and possession of the proletariat without such a change causing the slightest interruption in the continuity of production. This furnishes us indisputable proof of the fact that the transition to communistic production is not a technical problem at all, but solely a question of political might. Political struggle must merely loosen the bands of law that bound the bourgeoisie to the means of production. The further technical and economic round of production may remain absolutely untouched, but all the scientific and technical presuppositions of further communistic change are assured.

The great change, in fact, consists only in the most rational utilisation, as far as that is possible, of various and certain technical and scientific possibilities in the sphere of production. That is why I never thought an intermediary stage, a transition phase in the socialization of production necessary. Thus everywhere, where political resistance is out of the question, socialization can be carried into effect without any gradation, in all spheres of industry at once, from mining works, through works producing semi-manufactured goods down to the factories producing the ready commodity.

In consequence of the united action of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie in Hungary lost all means of economic power, and grew completely impotent to resist politically and to disturb the progress of production. That fact furnishes a clear proof of the correctness of my supposition.

Immediately after putting into effect dictatorship, the places of the capitalist in every work, every mine, even in every building enterprise, was taken by workers' councils of the work in question and as everybody, who

really did work, stayed where he was, production nowhere suffered interruption.

The complete revolution of the economic basis of production thus was effected smoothly. The immediate cause of this smooth revolution lies in the fact, that the ground for such political change was well prepared. Further reasons of the shockless change lie in the attitude of the engineers and employees, who had taken part in the process without resistance or sabotage, and who even had powerfully helped in the work of preparation. The chief reason however, was that the bourgeoisie was completely powerless against the united advance of the proletariat and could offer no resistance to socialization.

The proletariat, united in resolve and action, can speed along the path of socialization without meeting any obstacles of a technical quality. The concrete cases we saw here in Hungary in a very brief period of hardly a few weeks, unconditionally corroborate this assertion.

After taking over the materials and instruments of production, we proceeded at once to the centralized building-up of production. The execution of this task belongs to the People's Commissariat for Social Production, now carrying out the organization of the Economic Councils as well. Within the People's Commissariat we have erected special sections for all branches of industry, and the majority of these already embrace the enterprises of their respective branches. Not only a general survey has been realised, but the rational cooperation of the several enterprises of the same branch as well. In this sense centralization has been carried into effect by us in the mill, leather, and timber industries. In the textile branch, concentration of all working stock into the best-equipped and economically best-returning factories has partly been, partly is being, achieved. The same is the case in the chemical industry. In the latter we have practically realized the publication of manufacturing secrets and general mutual exchange of such between the several enterprises. Nationalisation of the iron and metal industries, as well as of the concerns manufacturing agricultural machines is proceeding. We have begun to organize joint offices for machine-building and designing, many small works were liquidated and their working stock turned over to large enterprises.

The entire mining industry of the country is under central control. The centralization of all Budapest power works is going on and the centre for the production of electric energy is undergoing a change in the sense of

unition. We have commenced the preparatory work of electrifying several steam railroads, a measure necessitated by the colossal difficulties of coal import.

Although we originally had no intention of socializing the small industries, this happened, as it were, automatically. The small craftsmen and tradesmen in crowds offer to deliver their instruments and stock of their free will and take work as workmen in the great socialized workshops. They have, it is true, no other choice, as they no longer can get working material. Thus we have constituted — parallel to the socialization of living-houses — central repairing workshops and offices for houses, which unite the mechanics and craftsmen formerly occupied in house repairs. The management of the special sections is such that the Supreme Council of Public Economy can be constituted immediately out of these sections. Besides politically reliable highly skilled specialists, the special sections contain representatives of the trade unions and of the largest enterprises. By thus putting the management of the special sections into the hands of those immediately concerned in production, we have prevented the formation of a hearsay central bureaucracy. The specialists we employ are not paid any special premiums, they earn no more than the average well-paid skilled labourer. — yet they work with great ambition.

In the individual enterprises the central organ of production is represented by an Industrial Commissary, appointed by the People's Commissariat, whose duty it is to carry into effect the decrees of the People's Commissariat, and in general to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. The Industrial Commissary has to send a weekly report to the People's Commissariat on the conditions of work in his particular factory, on the stock of raw materials, and manufactured produce, and on all experiences that in his opinion may prove useful for other enterprises. In coordination to him is a Workers' Controlling Council, at present consisting of workers of the same factory. These councils, however, we intend shortly to transform on the Russian model, so that the majority of the members should be delegates of other factories and of the trade unions respectively. The economic management is superintended by Finance Controllers, delegated by the People's Commissariat for Finance to all socialised factories. Each socialised factory is expected to keep its books like any independent concern. The elaboration of a uniform system of bookkeeping is proceeding.

We began the erection of an organization for taking stock of and distributing materials. The first step in this direction was an inventory of all factories and shops in the country. More than 90 % of all concerns sent in their inventories, all of which at the present day are gotten through to the last.

Twenty-seven thousand inventories were sent in by manufacturers; this number, of course, comprises many small concerns as well. Thus we got an idea of the quantity of stock at our disposition, that in its turn enabled us to establish a rational husbandry of materials. A central office for the distribution of materials, constituted in the spirit of the soviet system, is being erected. The materials needed to keep enterprises up can only be furnished on application to this office. The demands for materials is endorsed by the respective special section of the People's Commissariat, and the demand is deemed justified. Similarly orders are rationally divided among the several factories by a central office.

Foreign trade is concentrated in the Central Office for Foreign Trade. The winding-up of all business obligations contracted with foreign firms by private trade, has been taken over for settlement by this office. At present only exchange deals can of course be settled on a basis of recompensation.

In the country socialisation, of course, proceeds at a slower pace than in Budapest. The larger enterprises are all included in the sphere of action of our special sections, but the organisation of the smaller ones is yet in the making. We sent District Industrial Commissaries into the larger country towns for the purpose of carrying socialisation into effect. The constitution of industrial councils in the larger communities is proceeding. These latter are subordinate to the District Industrial Councils in the larger towns. The industrial, agricultural and general supply Councils together form the so-called communal and economic councils. The congress of the latter as a Supreme Council of Public Economy is to be summoned after the first Soviet Congress.

We are thus on the best way to the realization of the socialistic system of production in the entire territory of production and economic life in general. Our most imminent task, however is the fitting out of our troops now taking the field against the Allied bourgeoisie with the necessary ammunition and other indispensable supplies. We are unfortunately not in the position by far — owing to the great shortage of raw materials — to supply all the proletarian multitudes who want to go to the front with the greatest enthusiasm and readiness, with the materials of war. We set our hopes on the speedy assistance of our Russian comrades, for if we could obtain immediate connection with Russia, we could easily, by help of imported raw materials, fit out a mighty proletarian army in our factories, at present lying still.

We owe our Russian brothers who have signally lightened and simplified our task with their pioneer work, the greatest homage and gratitude.

Julius Hevesi.

Socialism in Serbia.

I. BEFORE THE WAR.

As the revolutionary events taking place in Serbia are attracting much attention, it seems appropriate to give a short account of the socialist movement in Serbia.

Socialist ideas have spread among the Serbian people in the second half of the nineteenth century, but, owing to the economic and political conditions of Serbian society, the movement degenerated into petty-bourgeois radicalism. The best-known statesmen and politicians of yesterday and to-day, such as Pashich, Pretich, Miletic, Predanovich and others, in their time called themselves socialists and revolutionaries. Later they became the obedient servants of Nicholas II., and to-day they are the agents of the European and American bankers, and the most marked reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. As to those who remained true to their revolutionary and true socialist ideal, they passed the greater part of their lives in prison, if they did not lose them outright.

Owing to this experience on one side and to the penetration and development of capitalism on the other, the present-day labour movement in Serbia is founded on a solid basis and bears a clearly defined class character.

The first trade-union organisations were founded in Serbia in 1901. But our proletariat could not have its legal political party,—the reactionary and absolutist régime of the time forbidding it categorically. In order to break its chains, our labouring class had to resort to illegal struggle. It organized into workers' societies, philanthropic societies, art societies, choirs; it published its periodicals and booklets illegally, under various forms; it held its meetings and sittings at night, secretly, in dark and damp cellars. In short, it carried on the struggle under extraordinarily difficult circumstances.

This struggle found expression, on the 25th of March, 1903, in a great revolutionary demonstration. Blood ran in the streets of Belgrade. The Serbian proletariat suffered losses in human lives but the absolutist régime was morally abolished. Two months later, on the 29th of May, 1903, our bourgeoisie and the military clique murdered the last Obrenovich and seized power. The proletariat profited by this opportunity to organize itself politically and economically. Party organisations and syndicates were established in the whole country. On the 20th of July, 1903, the first congress of the party and the united syndicates was

summoned in Belgrade. The congress decided to institute the Serbian Social Democrat Party and the General Confederation of Labour.

On a platform of class war, rejecting all compromise and cooperation with the bourgeois parties, and disregarding their democratic flimsy,—the socialist party and the trade-union organizations always marched side by side in the battle for the interests of the working class. This accord goes as far as when the General Confederation of Labour delegated members into the central committee of the party and vice versa. Thanks to the purely class character of our movement, thanks to a perfect unity of action in the economic and political sphere and to the socialist education of our small proletariat, the Serbian working class succeeded, after ten years of struggle, in squeezing important concessions from the bourgeoisie. In 1911 the ruling class was constrained to pass a law, by virtue of which working hours were limited to a maximum of ten hours a day. It must be observed, that up to then, usual hours were from twelve to fifteen a day, and in many cases even sixteen, eighteen and more. This law guaranteed a weekly rest of thirty-six hours for workmen without distinction of trade, forbid night work for women as well as for boys under eighteen. A series of similar reforms are further contained in the same bill.

Such reforms in a country where industrial development is in its infancy and where the labouring class had but two deputies in the bourgeois parliament of one hundred and sixty-six members, must be reckoned a great success, seeing that in the countries of advanced industrialism and culture, where labour deputies could be counted by the hundred in the bourgeois parliament, social legislation was far in the rear of barbaric Serbia. This of course was due neither to the merits nor to the far-sightedness of our bourgeoisie, which would not hear of concessions and resisted to the last moment. Between 1905 and 1911 it brought before Parliament several bills destined to throw dust into the eyes of the working class. These drafts were mere caricatures of social legislation. In each case the Serbian proletariat replied by redoubling the energy of its struggle and the force of its attack. It did not follow the bourgeoisie to Parliament. It made the bourgeoisie come out into the street to fight on a ground much more dangerous for it, where the capitalist class felt itself beaten and was forced to make concessions. These concessions confirmed the conviction of our working class, that class

war and revolutionary methods were the best and only way leading to the emancipation of the proletariat. In this manner we escaped the dangerous diseases called yellow syndicates and reformist socialist parties; even if they appeared, they could not do much harm. For when they attempted to penetrate the labour movement, the proletariat energetically repulsed them. Where, in spite of all, undesirable manifestations occurred, a radical operation was undertaken to save the rest of the organism. Separate individuals and entire groups were driven out of the party and the labour movement.

As a result, the reformists and partisans of coalitions and compromises always returned to where they had been sent from, to their proper place in the ranks of the bour-

geoisie. Many were speedily made ministers. But the proletariat lost nothing in these «deliverers» except bad advisers, their loss was rather beneficial to the working class, than otherwise.

It must be admitted, that with this conception, we were nearly always in a state of isolation within the Second International. We were pointed out to other «wise and far-seeing» parties as ecotarians and hot-heads. But we would not turn from our way. Our conception of Marxism and of the struggle for the deliverance of the proletariat left no other attitude possible. It is with this conception that we were overtaken by the Balkan war and then by the general cataclysm, that has destroyed millions of human lives and milliards of public wealth.

II. THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WAR.

When in 1908 the rapacious imperialism of Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country populated by Serbians, our young and ardent bourgeoisie profited by the opportunity to clothe its capitalistic ambitions in national garments. It declared the country and the nation in danger. Everything for the army; everything for armament; everything for national defence!

The Serbian proletariat answered: Down with the war between nations! Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Unfortunately, the socialist parties of Austria and Hungary did not do their duty at this moment. The voice of the Serbian proletariat was a cry in the wilderness. Nevertheless, we did not cease our activity.

In 1909, at the initiative of our party, the first inter-Balkan socialist conference was called in Belgrade, with the aim of uniting the nations of the Balkans and leading the struggle against imperialistic wars to success, the conference demanded the formation of a Federal Balkan Republic. Besides this we made the attitude of the Austrian and Hungarian comrades the subject of discussion at the International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam in 1910; but our indictment unfortunately failed to turn the many other socialist parties from the wrong course.

Nevertheless, when in 1912 Serbia and the other Balkan countries declared war on Turkey for the purpose of «delivering our fellow-countrymen, oppressed by five centuries of Turkish Slavery», our party remained true to its socialist and internationalist ideals. It stood up against the war with all its might and voted against war credits, in spite of the envelope of «Liberation» in which the rulers wrapped it. It proclaimed and emphasised class struggle and socialist revolution as the only means leading to the liberation of the oppressed classes and consequently, of the oppressed peoples as well. We opposed the projects of division and repeated our project of uniting the Balkans in a Federal Republic. Our assertion, formulated by comrade Lapchevich, that the Balkan

bourgeoisie wages this war with the aim of conquering new territories, in other words markets, and not the deliverance of any people,—that it would quarrel over the division of the spoils and thrust the peoples into mutual slaughter, was not long in being confirmed by events. After having defeated Turkey, when the oppressed Christian peoples were finally «delivered», the capitalists set the «liberated» about each others' ears. So it happened, that in June, 1913, eight months after the declaration of the war of «liberation», the allies of yesterday went to war among themselves. In this war Serbia was attacked. The Bulgarian army attacked the Serbian army in the night, without a formal declaration of war.

Still, in spite of the defensive character of the war, our party once again held up the revolutionary banner of proletarian solidarity. With even more energy than in the two preceding cases, it fought against the fratricidal war. We exposed the imperialist character of the war and demanded the formation of a Federal Balkan Republic.

During and after the conflict we steadily continued our revolutionary and socialist propaganda. Our representations began to win the broad masses of the people. Hearing an extensive growth of the socialist party, the government dared not appoint elections for the parliament, although it had two victorious years to its credit. Thus a year passed in procrastination. At last the government was forced to dismiss the discredited parliament and appoint fresh elections.

This was in June, 1914. The canvassing had hardly begun when Austria-Hungary sent Serbia the notorious ultimatum of the 10-23rd July.

When in 1914 Serbia was attacked in form, when this time it was reasonable to talk of a defensive war—if this word could have any meaning for us within the capitalist system—our party declared war against imperialist war. It loudly proclaimed, that the Serbian and Austro-Hungarian proletariat had no conflicting interests,

and that the bourgeoisie was guilty of the bloodshed. We did not hesitate to maintain, that the Serbian bourgeoisie played the part of agents for the western bankers and to Czarism. We appealed to the solidarity of the international proletariat and to its revolutionary activity. But on this occasion again our voice remained practically isolated in the Second International. For German and Austro-Hungarian social-democracy, whose government unleashed the world war, the French, Belgian and English socialists, whose ruling class at the last was just as guilty of the imperialist war as those of the Central Powers, all summoned the proletariat to fight in defence of the common fatherland. Thus we were the only socialist party of the belligerent countries — with the exception of the Russian — that protested against the imperialist war in 1914.

It is superfluous to expatiate upon the vigour with which we were persecuted by leading circles. In the beginning of the war our organisations were deprived of the possibility of action and our press was systematically suppressed. Nevertheless, during the first fifteen months of the European war we carried on a most energetic struggle against our own and the Allied bourgeoisie. Then in the end of 1915 came the great catastrophe of Serbia and the occupation of the country by German, Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops, an occupation lasting three years. The losses suffered by the Serbian people surpass any known to history. They affected the working class most of all. In spite of all these misfortunes, our party did not turn from its way.

During the three years of occupation it unfortunately could undertake nothing of importance, for the remnant of our proletariat was scattered to the four winds; some in occupied Serbia, some in Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary and Germany as prisoners of war or interned; some under arms on the Saloniki front, others in various Entente or neutral countries as fugitives.

Thus collective action was out of the question for our party. Only isolated individuals could lift up their voice in the name of the Serbian proletariat, and this voice was valid only if it corresponded to the attitude of our party and of the Serbian proletariat. It is thus that the attitudes of our comrades Katzlerovich and Popovich ought to be appreciated. When Comrade Katzlerovich spoke in the name of the Serbian proletariat in Kienthal, he was right in doing so, for his attitude corresponded to that of our proletariat. But when comrades Katzlerovich and Popovich went to Stockholm and deposited their memorandum at the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee, they had no right to speak in the name of our party and our labouring class for the simple reason that neither the one nor the other had ever placed themselves on the point of view of those who they pretended to represent. And when I, well knowing our proletariat, affirmed this first in Switzerland and later here in Russia, some comrades hesitated to believe me. But the confirmation of my words was not long in the coming. As soon as our party found a possibility of speaking collectively, this was done and their words left nothing to wish for.

III. THE SERBIAN PROLETARIAT AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

We will now examine whether the Serbian socialist party or rather the Serbian proletariat has changed its views during the three years of occupation and since the union of the Serbian people. This question may without fear of contradiction be answered: no.

For if our working class could firmly stand on the ground of international proletarian class war when all other socialist parties, great and small, placed themselves on the ground of national defence and cooperation with the bourgeoisie; when there was neither Zimmerwald nor Kienthal, nor Russian revolution, nor German revolution, nor Austro-Hungarian revolution; when one could talk of the creation of socialist republics and of the dictatorship of the proletariat as of a distant dream, — how then could the Serbian proletariat act otherwise to-day, when social-patriotism, social-opportunism and social-imperialism have suffered complete failure and our ideal, so far distant yesterday, has become a tangible reality?

No it could not and has not changed its attitude.

We quote some facts touching this subject: the Serbian socialist party is almost the only party which not only

at no time condemned or combatted bolshevism and the Russian proletarian revolution, but is one of the few parties that never made reservations on this subject.

In the beginning of this year, when the united kingdom of Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes came into being our party was invited to cooperate. It refused. More than that, when one of the members of the Croatian socialist party accepted a seat in the government, the Serbian socialist party censured him and declared that a socialist minister in a bourgeois cabinet was no better than a capitalist minister in the eyes of the party, and that he would be opposed just as any other bourgeois minister.

When the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops, in the end of 1918 began to evacuate Serbian territory, our workmen and peasants began to create their soviets. When the «Liberators», that is, the Allied troops arrived, these soviets were mercilessly suppressed. The Serbian and Allied soldiery committed the most atrocious crimes in the struggle against bolshevism. According to information received, all persons suspected of revolutionary and bolshevik sentiments were shot on the spot or deliv-

ered into the hands of the notorious komitadjis, for execution.

But by suppressing the soviets and murdering the revolutionaries, neither the Allies nor the Serbian government succeeded in diminishing want, starvation and general discontent. On the contrary all this grew from day to day.

Our party did not take part in the Bern conference, the conference of the Yellow International. Its abstention was not a matter of chance, for if the delegates of the Allies could go to the conference, the delegates of the vassal states of the Allies might have equally been permitted to go. But our comrades preferred not to go, desiring thus publicly to manifest their non-solidarity with those who betrayed the cause of the proletariat and of socialism. The reason why they did not go to Bern is clearly shown by the letter despatched in January to the bureau of the first communist congress in the name of our party by comrades Lapchevich and Filippovich. In this letter our comrades declare their solidarity with the heroic Russian proletariat and with the international revolutionary proletariat. They also wrote the following:

«The recent invitation of the social-traitors to send our delegates to Bern was refused by our party for we do not wish to have anything to do with the betrayers of socialism... The Serbian social-democratic party as well as the social-democratic party of Bosnia-Herzegovina place themselves on the communist platform. The best part of the workers of Croatia and Slavonia are convinced as we are, that the road to socialism leads through the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the form of this dictatorship is expressed in soviet power».

Is not this declaration clear and without equivocation?

Finally, telegrams arrive daily to show us that our party has not changed its attitude and that on the contrary, it has entered upon the final struggle, the decisive struggle for the liberation of the proletariat and the establishment of communism.

We quote some of these telegrams.

«The meeting of Serbian workers that took place on March 26th in Belgrade enthusiastically greets the dictatorship of the Magyar proletariat and declares itself ready to support its Hungarian brothers with all its force till the complete victory of world revolution. Signed: Filippovich».

This solidarity showed itself in deeds, for a Stockholm telegram, dated April 2d, says:

«It is reported from Vienna, that the Serbian royal government applied to the Allies for military

aid to smother the Hungarian revolution. The labour organisations replied by the proclamation of a general strike in Belgrade and other towns».

Some days later, on the 12th of April, a Budapest wireless reports:

«According to information received from Serbia, proletarian revolution is approaching. The Serbian army occupying Hungary looks with envy on their brothers on the other side of the demarcation line, the Hungarian proletarians. In the region of the old line of demarcation, the Serbians threw down their arms and fraternised with our comrades. To-day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, French soldiers, coming from Segedina occupied New-Segedina and the bridge behind the Serbians. In order to smother imminent revolt, the Serbian military authorities arrested on Thursday several comrades carrying communist proclamations. The barracks are turned into prisons and are filled with prisoners».

Two days later, on the 14th of April a French telegram from Lyons says:

«In consequence of the resignation of several members of the Serbian cabinet Mr. Pretich is engaged in the formation of a new ministry. All parties save the social-democratic party are to be represented in the new cabinet».

Since then we have no further information of what is going on in Serbia and the other Yugoslav countries.

According to the preceding, the Serbian proletariat and its political representative, the socialist party, in the past as in the present, always held high the red banner of international working-class liberation.

I am convinced that in the future our proletariat will fulfill with honour the historic task imposed upon it by present and coming events.

The Russian proletariat and the labouring class of the world may be certain of always finding in the Serbian proletariat loyal and sincere comrades in the establishment of the communist international. The heroes of the Russian revolution, whose superhuman efforts have evoked the admiration, sympathy and solidarity of the workers of the entire world, may be sure that the Serbian peasants and workmen will not be the last to hold out to them a brotherly hand, even if at the present moment circumstances prevent them from being among the first.

Ilya Milkich.

Moscow, April 30, 1919.

Five Months of Soviet Latvia.

Regarded from the economic standpoint tiny Latvia presented before the war the aspect of the most developed part of Russia. Not only such important industrial centres as Riga and Libau, but also the villages showed of the highly capitalist development of the country. In the villages, the percentage of purely hired labourers or landless population considerably exceeded the number of 'landed' peasants. In this respect Latvia presented an exceptional picture, even in comparison with the West. The war brought great changes in the life of the country. Not only was it materially ravaged, not less than Belgium or Poland, but also depopulated, and to a much higher degree than the rest of Russia. In Riga the inhabitants before the war numbered 425,000 and the census taken in January, 1919, showed the number reduced to 212,000, of whom the aged formed 25%. For every hundred men there are now 180 women; before, as in all industrial centres, it was the young masculine generation that predominated. A hundred thousand industrial proletarians together with their families were removed, in the year 1915, at the time of the evacuation of factories and mills, and dispersed in different towns of Russia, where they remain until the present day. Things have also changed in the villages. The village proletarian is either in his soldier uniform on the field of battle, or has become a small farmer, or half-partner, or day-labourer, or some other dissimulated form of hired slavery.

Under such conditions in November, 1918, when the idea of Soviet Latvia arose, the question of Kautzky clearly stood before us: 'Is it possible on these ruins of the war, where nothing is left to socialize—to create a socialistic order of things? In our Manifesto on the construction of the Socialist Soviet Lettish Republic we unhesitatingly answered, in the affirmative. 'Instead of helping the capitalist class to reconstruct on these ruins the fortress of capitalist bondage—the proletariat of Latvia, will set to work without delay to erect its own temple of Labour.' The Soviet Government of Latvia, formed by order of the Central Committee of the Social Democracy (at present the Communist Party) of Latvia which existed illegally in Riga, published their Manifesto in December 17th, 1918, regarding the abolition of the so-called Bourgeois Provisional Government. In virtue of the occupational régime of that time, this Manifesto could only begin to circulate in Riga on December 25th, when the Soviet Government had already entered the territory of Latvia and had taken the town of Valk. Simultaneously with the signing of the Manifesto the Presidium of the Soviet Government of Latvia, whose members were at that moment in Mos-

cow (Stouchka, Danishevsky, Lenzman and Peterson) fixed the day and place, January 13th at noon in the House of the Knights in Riga, for the convocation of the Assembly of the Workers', Peasants' (landless) and Soldiers' Deputies of united Latvia. When in December 13th I handed over, simultaneously with the communication on the construction of the Soviet Government of Latvia, an invitation to our Assembly, to the late I. M. Sverdloff, President of the All Russian Central Executive Committee, he smiled and said: 'Are you not fixing your Assembly too soon, Comrade Stouchka, when you have not yet got a span of land? But I shall certainly attend the Assembly'. I replied, that we should try to keep our word. And, in effect, on January 4th we were able to telegraph to Comrade Sverdloff from Riga that the appointment of January 13th for the meeting of the Assembly remained in full force and that we expected him. Comrade Sverdloff, on his part, was true to his word, and arrived.

On what did we base our assurance when with such confidence we fixed the day for the Assembly? First of all, on our faith in the proletariat of Riga, in spite of its occupation. Secondly, on our confidence in the Lettish proletariat, in the Lettish rifleman, who had fought in the ranks of the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, and who, when sent into the rear of the Army for rest, instead of resting, hurried joyfully home in order to liberate their proletarian native country. For, we invariably, in our Manifesto, as well as afterwards, confidently said that there can exist in Latvia only a proletarian, that is, a Soviet power—or the feudalist-Junker régime of the barons. An only the malicious calumny of the German social traitors could confound the returning home of the Lettish riflemen with the so-called Imperialist intentions of the R. S. F. S. R.

The victorious march of the Proletarian Revolution was amazing. Those of the Kaiser's troops, which had remained—the decomposed parts as well as the iron divisions—yielded directly to the attack of the not yet numerous, but fearless detachments of the Lettish Red Army regiments, which had already been often under fire. Everywhere, on the approach of our soldiers, the local proletariat rose and inevitably conquered. So it was in Valk, in Wolmar, in Wenden, on Jan. 3rd in Riga, then in Mitau and Tuksum. And only in Windau a second effort was made in order to bring success. But quite without precedent was the rising of the Riga proletariat, who in spite of the part played by German troops in the street-fighting and of the presence of English cruisers in

the Dwina, conquered in one day, without any external help, although the Lettish regiments were yet at a distance of 10 to 20 verstas and were not in time to fire one helping shot. At 3 a. m. on Jan. 3rd I and my comrades entered the town in a German armoured train, which had been captured by the workmen, whilst the retreating German troops set fire to the theatre and elevator. Another week or two, and Libau would also have been in our hands, after which Germany (by the order of the Allies), or the Allies themselves, would have been obliged to make us an open declaration of war — that is, if the mood of the labouring masses of the West would have allowed such a thing. But at this moment appeared bourgeois Finland, which attacked Lithuania with its forces from the side of Esthonia; and the Germany of Scheidemann sent against us fresh, newly formed regiments of «Socialist Germany», with Hindenburg at their head. Of all the shameful pages of the régime of Scheidemann (and they are not few!) one of the most scandalous, is the upholding of the forces of the brutal and antiquated feudalistic régime of the Baltic baron-landowners by the troops of the German «Socialist-Republic».

Noske is frank and he openly refutes all the reports that it was the Allies who forced Germany to leave her troops in Latvia. «We are not engaged to do this by the Treaty, but Courland is German ground». And yet on this «German» ground, according to the statistics of the Germans themselves, there are only 4% of Germans, including the population of the towns. What must one say, then, of Dantzig?

Our task in Latvia was an exceedingly difficult one. We had to struggle against the external enemy on three fronts: on the Northern Front, where «The Red, Esthonian Army» was not in a state to resist the attack of bourgeois Esthonia together with her auxiliary forces; on the South-Western Front, where in Courland the not numerous forces of the Lettish bourgeoisie, but the numerous regular German troops and volunteers, attracted by ten marks a day and by copious nourishment (at the Entente's cost) from Germany, Denmark, Sweden and so on, and under the daring leadership of experienced captains from amongst Baltic barons, formed an enemy of superior strength, technique and enterprising spirit. At last, after the fall of Vilna, on the Polish-Lithuanian Front, where we had to send consecutively five of our regiments, we had not one man left in our reserve. Thanks to a mobilization which reached its maximum our troops increased in number, but certainly did not present the same former homogeneous Red Army, which we possessed in December.

We saw ahead a threatening picture of imminent collapse of the Army, but were helpless to prevent it. At the same time at the base, we had to perform important structural work. It is absurd and childish to say that all this work should have been postponed. We could not, for one day, dispense with the solving of the food question, in the first place for the Army. It was also

absolutely necessary to have factories working (if even of the smallest dimension) in order to supply the Army, because there was not a sufficient supply of boots, equipment, etc., in the centre. If only we had been able to recall to Riga even a small part of the evacuated unemployed proletariat, and a supply of factory apartments, which since 1915 lay useless in wagons or store-houses, we should have obtained more help for our front from a thousand or two conscientious proletarians, returned to Riga, than from an additional thousand mobilized soldiers or a dozen communists sent out for agitation. It is the good fortune of the Hungarian Soviet Republic that 60% of her Red Army consists of workmen.

The food shortage was awful. In April, an average of nineteen people died from hunger in one day. Under pretext of the Armistice, the German Commanding Staff tried to carry off all that had been plundered in this country under pretence of contribution or war spoils (remember that even Kautzky looks upon war-bloody as upon legal property). In that way many trains and ships left Riga laden with bread and other food stuffs before we occupied it, thus leaving the population at the mercy of fate. Our Western Front, to which our Army was attached, was not in a state to supply and did not supply our Army with victuals in a sufficient quantity, and all that should have been distributed amongst the civil population went to the Army. For months the workmen of Riga did not receive one single pound of bread. We cannot but admire the selfdenial of the Riga proletariat who, without the slightest murmur, suffered so bravely the torments of hunger. The only thing the Soviet Government could do for them, was to give them scanty dianers, consisting of soup. At the time of the German occupation — 80,000 such portions were distributed; our government increased the quantity of calories contained in each portion, and distributed 180,000 portions daily amongst a population of 212,000 people. The ingredients of such a portion gave $\frac{1}{118}$ of the food necessary for a healthy person; but at the time of the German occupation the people received only $\frac{1}{117}$. By the month of May the supply apparatus was put in tight working order. Thanks to the Ukraina, we could at last begin the distribution of bread to the civil population also, in the following categories.

First category — $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound; second category — $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound and third category — $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pound. The distribution was even provided for 14 days ahead. This insignificant store of provisions fell into the hands of the German troops, who (according to received information) sold them off to speculators.

We had yet to arrange the means of distributing the food stuffs. The communists in Riga had at their disposal well-developed workmen's co-operatives. We transformed them into Government organs of distribution, and introduced into them as obligatory members all the electors of the Soviets, that is, all the labourers; at the same time we abolished all share-holders dues. A month

after the introduction of categoric food cards we intended to realize the registration of all labourers at the corresponding local centres of distribution. But the taking of Riga by the Germans interrupted this work, which was but half finished.

Latvia is, principally, an agricultural country; but the rural economy had already in the sixties of the last century taken a purely monetary form. The number of landless peasants preceded the landowning ones by four times. Such was the picture before the war. During the war the number of farmers who were employing day labourers considerably diminished, and part of the hired labour took another unrecognizable, natural form. But the substance of capitalist economy remained. We at once nationalized without indemnification all the large estates (of over a 100 desiatines), but could begin cultivating them at the costs of the Republic only in proportion to the inventory that was at our disposal. We instituted 230 Soviet farms, well stocked and satisfactorily cultivated. It was more difficult to dispose of the other rural properties. It is not an easy thing to unite the interests of the «grey barons»,—the farmers,—with those of the landless day labourers. In consequence of a sometimes inexperienced realization of our policy in this sphere, that is to say in the rural districts, our agricultural policy led to many misunderstandings. But all these dissensions, which had accentuated themselves at the beginning of the summer season, were of short duration, and when we were forced, by the military strength of Germany, to retire from Latvia we were followed by thousands of day-labourer fugitives and the same discontented elements who did not wish to remain in the Latvia of the barons. Because of the default of inventory and of the deficiency of a sufficiently important apparatus of agriculturists, we were obliged, in order to avoid famine, to leave in force the leasing of land which did not constitute Soviet farms and to give license to the peasant-farmers to employ hired labour, insisting only on the observation of all the laws of labour-protection. The working day in the rural districts was to average in the year eight hours a day. Temporarily we were forced to make this concession. We decidedly opposed the distribution of land amongst the landless peasants. The Soviet Republic is, in a considerable degree, a Republic of propaganda, but of propaganda principally by action, and not by words. We were obliged to pursue our agitation by decrees and by actual renovation of the economic life of the country. We were forced to reopen, one after the other, the industrial establishments, whose work had been suspended or had been destroyed. We did this regardless of the enemy, who stood at 20 to 30 versts from Riga. The organisation of production was realized on a purely Soviet standard. The management belonged to a delegate, chosen by the Soviet or by the Soviet government, but with the participation and under the control of deputies of industrial (formerly trade

unions). The trade unions, having lost their significance as organs of class-struggle, transformed themselves into organs of power, with the abolition of all re-imbursements of members and with the obligatory participation in them of all workers. According to the information gathered by an investigation held in Riga in the month of April, the average productivity of labour had but slightly diminished; but there were also cases of increase of productivity of labour. As a reason for the decrease of productivity, famine and deficiency of materials has already been indicated. Our proletarian discipline was strict and gave good results. Everywhere minimum output of work was introduced; a transference into a higher or lower category of payment was admitted, in dependence upon the actual finished work. Our communistic fraction of the trade unions opposes payment, according to agreement. The Soviet Government of Latvia was purely communistic. We did not conceal from any one that we were the government of one Party, but the only Party, who had the right to the name of a veritable Soviet Party. All our endeavours tended towards making the administrative apparatus simple, not overcrowded and cheap, and that the same piece of work should not be duplicated. That is why we accepted as law that the Central Committee of the Communist Party and its local committee must correspond in personnel to the Government and the board of the local Executive Committees. The government, on the other hand is at the same time the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. Instead of arranging fictitious voting for the passing of obligatory regulations of the Central Committee of the Party, we decided all questions simultaneously in the Central Committee and in the Government. Accordingly, we had not simultaneously a Soviet propaganda with a propaganda of the Party, or an organ of the Party with an organ of the Central Executive Committee; agitation, written and verbal, was entirely the function of the Party. The editor of our Party publications was, in virtue of his position in the Party, a member of the Government. But this did not mean in any way that we had given up party agitation, but rather that we had reinforced it. (The organ of our Party appeared in six languages: Lettish, Russian, German, Jewish, Lithuanian and Estonian).

Our government had the full right to call itself a workers' government: for not only more than half its constituents were really workmen, but also all the standards of payment for all categories of labour were equal—from 400 to 800 roubles (from May 1st 600 to 900 roubles). As a general rule we accepted that the specialists were attached to the commissaries and not the commissaries to the specialist (Excepting only the military department where, according to the general law of the R.S.F.S.R. there exists the opposite regulation).

All the economic departments, for the purpose of simplification called commissariats, were looked upon as sections of a unique Council of Public Economy, which

by us was differently organized from that of the R. S. F. S. R. Our Council of Public Economy, under the presidency of the President of the Soviet Government, decided finally all questions of an economic character which had not evoked dissonance. This Council broke up into two (production and exchange or distribution) and eight sections or commissariats (industry, agriculture, labour, public building, ways and means of communication, food, finance and foreign exchange). In such a way we hoped to prevent the disunion of the different departments and mutual friction and parallelism, inevitable under another system.

The central material administration and central book-keeping, instituted in the Council of Public Economy, were to serve as the principal means of unification of all the economic life of the country, and where in future, the budget of production and consumption of the country, was to be worked out. The Council of Public Economy and its material administration and central bookkeeping were formed as sections or subsections of a future single complete body, of a more or less extensive International, with the object of attaining a real and rational centralisation.

On the question of our «International» situation we took from the very first, a firm position, declaring ourselves «foreigners» only as regards the non Soviet states. With all the Soviet states we are the most natural and close allies. In the first place, of course, with the R. S. F. S. R., with whose proletariat we are welded together by many years of common struggle. All attempts to infuse dissension amongst our comrades in this respect were fruitless. We always emphasised only a true union and not a union on paper. And we stood up in defence of the natural independency of any Soviet assimilation, especially so under our economic conditions, which differ from those of other parts of Russia. This question—of uniting centralisation with local Soviet-independence is doubtless the most difficult question to solve. But experience has shown that in practice this problem was nearing its solution. From January 3rd until May 22nd, that is

for less than five months, our power existed in Riga. It was too much to expect great results in such a short lapse of time. But yet, if in January the representative of the «social democrats» Vinning, the German ambassador in Riga assured me that «order was visible in our midst» and that it was clear to him, that only we, and not the bourgeois democrats had the right to have the power in Latvia,—all the more comprehensible is the calumny about the horrors we were perpetrating in Riga, which this same Vinning and his partisans set afloat later on. We were obliged to be merciless, having to deal with an unheard of régime of medieval Junkers who ruled here before, and in the first, not yet completed, quarter of the XX century, undertook two punitive expeditions in this country (in 1906 in Russian, and in 1918 in German attire). In answer to the third invasion of these avenging Junkers, this time under the firm of the social democrats Scheidemann and Noske, who brutally destroyed everything that reminded them of the odious communists, not sparing even women and children—we were obliged to take recourse to severe measures, even to the shooting of the hostages, consisting of barons and bourgeois, principally the former. We had to punish the avengers of 1906 and 1917 themselves. But whoever knows the local conditions of Latvia will agree that we limited ourselves in this respect to the smallest minimum possible. At the present moment, thanks to Scheidemann, Riga is under the «temporary» rule of General von der Holz, the commander of Hindenburg's troops. And if the rest of the Kaiser's troops, when leaving Riga in January, set fire to the theatre and to the food stores, the troops of Scheidemann have immortalised their coming by destroying the monument of Marx, by destroying the tombs of the communars and by shooting hundreds of communists and other workmen in Riga and the rest of Latvia.

But the German troops will go together with Scheidemann, the truth will be once more confirmed that in Lettland can rule only the feudal barons, or the Soviet power.

P. Stouthka.

Vistas of the Revolution in France.

A year ago the revolutionary movement in France already assumed such considerable dimensions that the country was on the eve of a revolutionary outbreak. In the spring of 1918, mutinies occurred in many regiments, and bore such a decided character that there was a moment when the Command of the French Army was doubtful of its ability to restrain this movement. In the summer a wave of strikes and demonstrations surged throughout France, and in many places soldiers who were ordered out against the demonstrators refused to obey (as in Lyons). But especially significant was the political strike, begun by the metal workers, who brought forward only one demand, — the immediate revelation of the true aims of the war. This strike spread also into the provinces. In Paris alone several hundred thousand workmen ceased work, and this strike, which had been organised by factory delegates, might have attained something yet more granquose, if the whole enterprise had not miscarried in the hands of the Syndical centres, with Merheim at their head, who thus proved himself a traitor to the Revolution. In one word, France was ready for Revolution last year, but the course of military events having hastened the development of the Revolution in Germany, suspended it for a time.

During the first months after the Armistice, there was a lull in France. The French workmen were under the illusion that the Peace and Wilson's «League of Nations» would heal their wounds and give vitality to their aspirations. But, little by little, as the demobilized soldiers returned from the Front, and the incapacity of the Conference became more apparent, this illusion faded: — it was clear that the Peace Conference would lead to nothing.

At the present moment, we again observe amongst the French Workers, a long unheard of outburst of the Revolutionary spirit. Worn out by five years of war, the slaves of French Imperialism are beginning to present their «bill of costs»; and these costs are heavy — one million and a half killed, as many more maimed for life; industry destroyed; about a million of unemployed (this figure was given in March when the demobilization was not half accomplished); an impending financial crisis.

Day by day, the workmen see more and more clearly that they have only themselves to rely upon; that the only way out of the present complicated situation is through Socialism. Sympathy and solidarity with the Russian Revolution, with the Soviets, with Communism, with its leaders Lenin and Trotzky and faith in the possibility of realizing the vitality of the Soviets, is increasing. There is scarcely one workers' meeting in France at present that does not pass a resolution of sympathy with Soviet Russia; or a protest against intervention in the affairs of nations struggling for Socialism.

At the Jaurès demonstration in Paris, in which 300,000

persons took part, the predominant cry, which drowned all others was: — «The Soviets», «the Soviets», «the Soviets!» «Long live Lenin and Trotzky!» This demonstration, which has not been equalled in France for a long time, and which by its grandeur and enthusiasm surpassed all the expectations of the French Socialists, was not only a manifestation of the increasing strength and unity of the Parisian workmen but a revelation of their growing revolutionary spirit and readiness for fight. The Bourgeoisie was amazed, and directly after the demonstration, hurriedly passed through Parliament the law for the «Eight hours working day»; thus hoping to calm the workmen, and, by the way, to prevent the demonstration of the First of May. But this last object was, apparently, not attained, inasmuch as (according to the press) the streets of Paris became the scene, not only of demonstrations, but also barricades and armed collisions. Never before had the celebration of the First of May been prepared with such assiduity as this year. The most extensive preliminary campaign was carried through. In every corner of France, the organizations of the Party and of the Syndicates arranged workers' meetings which unanimously passed resolutions for the «Eight hours working day; for participation in the celebration of the First of May; for the abolition of the tax on wages. In most cases these resolutions were accompanied by greetings to the Soviet Republics, and by a protest against Intervention in Russian affairs. At many meetings such decisions as the following were voted: «To continue to aim at the realization of Communism in the Communist International». «To summon all the Labour Organizations to commence an immediate struggle against the régime of crime and injustice; against the dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and ruling classes.» And «to rouse the Proletariat to the final contest for the extermination of «class distinctions» and for the institution of a collectivist or Communist society.» etc.

In the provinces, the First of May probably passed in a not less revolutionary manner than in Paris, and this fact must be especially taken into consideration, that, at the present moment the provinces are not only not behind, but even surpass Paris in revolutionary spirit. At the same time we observe a considerable development of the French Labour organizations, and also an extraordinary (for France) afflux of members to the Syndicates.

The Confédération Général du Travail counts more than a million regularly paying members. Even the clerks have organized themselves and joined the Labour-Exchange. The number of unemployed, in the month of March, had reached nearly a million. The cost of living is continually increasing in the provinces. The wages paid out constitute only three-fifths of real wages. The working-day is still very long. Economic strikes are contin-

nally breaking out in one branch of industry or another.

Of special interest was the demonstrational strike of the railway workers, in the course of which, at a given time, all railway work throughout France stood still for a quarter of an hour. The same experiment was tried by the postoffice officials. In the army also, things do not stand well; the soldiers are worn out, and in one voice with the workmen claim an immediate demobilization. Meanwhile the demobilization has reached the 1906 class. The rest of the soldiers are still under arms, as the Allies want troops for the occupation of Germany and other countries. Discontent and insubordination are growing amongst the French soldiers.

The prisons are all overcrowded with soldiers. The number of these arrested amounts to 60,000, and many of them are confined for having refused to fight against Russia. More than once, the French Imperialists have had to remove from Russia different detachments, which declined to use their arms against the Russian Soviets. On board the «Austria» the crew and the soldiers refused to go to Russia and mutinied, during the course of which all the officers were arrested and the General who was sent on board to calm the soldiers and sailors, declared that their claim to be immediately disembarked on arriving at Marseilles, would be granted and that the police would not interfere with them.

The working masses are so much against intervention that not a single meeting is held without a resolution, embodying this principle, being passed. Marcel Callien, from the Parliamentary tribune, implored the soldiers to refuse to go to Russia. Maleras, to enforce the same principle, incited them even to rebellion.

In the Soviet Party and in the Syndicates, just as in the masses the influence of the Russian and German revolution, together with that of the Third International, is growing, and amongst the advance-guard of the French working-class there exists already an important communistic nucleus; but neither in the Party nor in the Syndicates is there, as yet, any dissension. Pericat stands near to Jeheux, Lorient, and Somone; Paul Faure and Frossart still associate with Renaudel, Compère-Morel and Albert Thomas. The Socialist fractions are, at present, completely compromised in the eyes of the masses. At the meetings they are not allowed to speak, and it is enough for Jeheux and Renaudel to make their appearance on the platform, for furious cries to break out. There have been cases even of open fight. The speakers on the «Right» were expelled and the tribune taken possession of by those on the «Left», whose names are not even mentioned in the lists. The Social-traitors continue to warm up their doctrine of «civil-peace» but with a different sauce. Jeheux, Weber, and Compère-Morel assert that the economic conditions are not yet ripe for Socialism, and that therefore, in order to find the best way out of the present intricate condition of imminent ruin, it is necessary for masters and workmen to unite

in friendly union. Jeheux, who is simply a satellite of Louchet (the Minister of Commerce), proposes to form a «National Economic Council», in which representatives of the enterprises of the workmen and of the Government would take part. In the «League of Nations» there exists an organ of Labour, which, according to the designs of its promoters, must regulate all labour questions on an international scale and which must also comprise representatives of the government, employers, and workmen. By the way, Jeheux and Vandervelde take part in this organ.

All these things taken together are rapidly and unrestrainably destroying the last vestiges of confidence and authority which these persons still enjoyed. The former minority of the party has already become its majority and hold in their hands the papers and the «centres» of the party. The elements of the Right have lost their influence to such a degree that at the last Congress of the party they had not the courage even to bring forward their resolutions. At the Federation of Gard Compère-Morel, who, once upon a time was a god and a king, was left in such a minority that he was obliged to withdraw his resolution.

The masses are irresistibly forcing their leaders more and more to the Left. The circulation of the central organ of the French Socialist party *L'Humanité*, which in the course of the war, when the paper was in the hands of majority socialists, fell to an insignificant number, ran up to a 100,000 as soon as it was taken over by the minority and the Right had ceased its collaboration.

Populaire, which is not read throughout France, but only in Paris and the Department of the Seine, has attained a circulation of 15,000 copies. But the number of the *Populaire* which was devoted to Soviet-Russia reached the high number of 55,000 copies. At present all the «Left» papers sell rapidly for instance — *La Vague*, a small very popularly controlled weekly, edited by Brison, circulates its 60,000 copies. The *International*, a weekly, edited by Pericat, which openly proclaimed itself a Bolshevik organ, has already, from its seventh number, a sale of 15,000 copies. In the Party, the struggle between the Left and the Right elements is emphasizing itself. The questions of the Russian Revolution; of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and of the Third International, give rise to heated debates, and the orators of the Right cannot speak on the subjects of Bolshevism, the October Revolution, and the proletarian Dictatorship, without foaming mouths.

The so-called «minoritists» (something like the Russian mensheviks), who at the present moment compose the majority of the party, uniting the most varied elements; from Paul Faure and Frossart, to Longuet and Marcel Callien, cling at all costs to the idea of unity and will not consent to expell the Right from the party, trying to smooth off all angles and reconcile what is irreconcilable. Thanks to such a course of action, *L'Humanité* for instance, is completely colourless, or such curious instances occur, as with the Franchise Bill. In order to

create a level on which all the currents would unite the minoritists, or at any rate, their Left elements, modified their position, and insisted that this scheme also should be brought forward at the Congress in the quality of a resolution on the current moment. This project was signed both by the Social-patriots and by the Minoritists; but two of our comrades, Loriot and Somone, opposed to this plan one of their own which had been worked out by «The Socialist Section of the Committee for Renewing International Relations». After a very good preface, which speaks of the incapacity of the Bourgeoisie to repair the general havoc caused by the war; and of the necessity of revolution and proletarian dictatorship our comrades proposed the following programme:

- 1, Seizure of power by the Proletariat;
- 2, Institution of obligatory labour;
- 3, the socialization of all means of production and exchange, of the land, of commerce, of transport, under the immediate administration of peasants and workmen;
- 4, the distribution of all products, by means of cooperative and municipal shops under the control of labour societies;
- 5, the municipalization of dwelling-houses, hotels, etc.;
- 6, the abolition of the bureaucracy, and the transfer of the management of all their affairs to the hands of the employees;

7, General disarmament, as a result of the union of all proletarian republics in the «Socialist International».

Not only in the working-classes but also in the midst of the socialist party, in the advance-guard of the proletariat and in the assemblies of the Federation of the Socialist Party, the voting proved clearly that great is already the influence of Communism in France. The International Congress of the Third International and the formation of the Bureau gave a strong incentive to self-criticism in the party and showed the necessity of an explicit answer to the question as to whither they were trending, and what path they ought to pursue: either with the Communists in the Third International or stay with Scheidemann in the Second International. It was this that forced the French minoritists to raise the question in the order of the day as to what their standard would be.

This question had been put previously, at the meetings of the Federation. Only two points of view were brought forward — that of the minoritists and that of the Communists. The Right elements, Compeze-Morel, Renaudel and others, hesitated to propose their special resolution as they felt helpless. The minoritist point of view was the following. For the present we do not definitely decide to join the Third International, but at the Congress of the Second International, which will be held in the summer, we shall form the Opposition, having previously tried to induce the Bolsheviks likewise to be present. We shall expel the extreme Right and undesirable elements and thus transform and improve the Second International. Should we not succeed in doing this, we shall forsake the Second International and definitely join the Third International.

The Communists, on the contrary, proposed to join the Third International immediately. The voting on these two different standpoints is interesting. At the Congress of the Federation of the Seine, on the question of general politics, the resolution of the minoritists obtained 3,851 votes; the resolution of Loriot 2,563; the resolution of Bluhme (a little more Right than the first) 1,298; on the question of the International, the minoritists obtained 3,999 votes; Loriot obtained 2,214, and Bluhme 1,305. For the franchise bill, the programme proposed by the minoritists received 2,351 votes and that of Loriot 2,015. The first steps towards the creation of a «centre» are already being taken, and at the end of last April was to appear the first number of *The Workman's Life*. On the editorial staff, we find on one side the Socialists Loriot, Somone and Boris Suvorine; and on the other the Syndicalists Rosener and Monar. Unfortunately Pericat does not collaborate in the work of this organ but separately edits the paper *International*. However, we hope that in the near future our French comrades will comprehend the necessity of a breach with the Social-patriots and complete harmony amongst the revolutionary elements of the Labour movement in France in their common struggle for the Third International. All the conditions necessary for the Revolution are apparent. France is passing through a grave economic and financial crisis. Her principal centres of industry are destroyed; hundreds of towns and villages laid waste; The blast-furnaces are extinguished; the mines are flooded; the transport is in confusion. The Bourgeoisie can find no way of escape from financial ruin. The victory has proved a Pyrrhus victory. The French bourgeoisie is desperately struggling to extricate itself, in some way or other, from a situation in which it is threatened with destruction, but it is trying to arrive at this end by the boldest, barefaced dictatorship. The rôle of Parliament is, in a way evident to everyone, reduced to a nonentity. The entire Bourgeois press stands openly for the government. Militarism, with state of siege and martial law, are predominant in France. The labour organizations are persecuted, the press mercilessly curtailed. The French Bourgeoisie is flourishing the sword and trying to force its dictatorship on to all Europe. Paris has become the centre of universal reaction. But all these attempts only reveal, more clearly, to the eyes of the proletariat in France and in other nations, that the Bourgeoisie is helpless, and that the only way out of this situation is through Revolution and Socialism.

At the same time, the idea of Communism, which until so recently exercised only an insignificant influence, is now growing and spreading. One of the last ramparts of Imperialism is rapidly falling to pieces. We cannot predict exactly to a day, or to a month, when the Revolution will break out, but that France is now on the eve of Revolution can be asserted with confidence.

B. Blonina.

Democracy and Bolshevism.

The Bern conference has brought to light that the hatred towards bolshevism, i. e. towards the social revolution, has brought forth a fairly strong counter-revolutionary current, not in the working masses whose sympathies are instinctively as well as rationally with the fighting proletariat, but in a considerable part of the trade-union and socialistic headquarters. This current must be prevented if possible from doing harm.

If, under cover of theoretical speculations, which by the way, have very little, mostly nothing to do with genuine socialist principles, we censure, openly or hiding under clever formulas, the mighty struggle of Soviet Russia,—then we, whether we wish it or no, serve international reaction and support it in its criminal enterprise against the first people that victoriously proclaimed the rule of labour and shown the firm intention of creating a new social order. And if at the same time we weigh the respective merits of democracy and dictatorship by help of an obsolete phraseology, do we not understand that we thereby encourage the reactionary insolence of the so-called democratic governments, which like the French republic, have become the hotbed of all anti-labour movement and the stronghold of capitalistic defence? We thus contribute to foster, in the public opinion, already poisoned by shameless press campaigns, a feeling of enmity towards the nations struggling for revolution. This in turn facilitates all those measures to which the sense of danger drives the yet ruling middle classes of other countries.

The adulators of so-called democratic principles and despisers of the inevitable dictatorship of the proletariat thus load the guns of Murmansk, Archangel and Odessa, just as they help to create the atmosphere in which this vilest of all abominations, this greatest of all crimes, is made possible. A France, putting itself at the head of an international raid, that the war against the Russia of the peasants and workmen represents, such are the palpable fruits of their policy. Against it we must protest and fight with all our strength.

It indeed requires a certain amount of impudence to bandy words about the advantages and drawbacks of the Russian revolution at a moment when that same is attacked on all sides by the enemies of socialism, and when we have not been able finally, neither in England nor in France, to force our capitalistic governments to recall our troops and raise the criminal blockade intended to starve more than a hundred

million men, or to withdraw the assistance given to the adventures of Kolchak and Denikin, whose undisguised aim is the reestablishment of Tzarism. And yet we are supposed to be in parliamentary opposition, that even goes as far as obstruction. Where then are the protests of the trade unions, that in unison with us aim at a powerful mass action? If the French proletariat rests contented with what is being done, it will find it difficult to shake off that responsibility for this criminal expedition, undertaken by its masters, when called to account before the tribunal of history.

Further, it must be said that we are neither politically nor morally authorized to pose as moralists and critics of those who since November, 1917, have taken up the overwhelming burden of directing the first victorious social revolution. Let us first save that revolution, let us prevent the Allied imperialists from smothering it, let us force our bankers, manufacturers and government lickspittles to end this ruthless war, this crusade of reaction. After that—but only after that, we may take up our discourses on the question of methods again. If a member of our family is attacked by highwaymen in a wood, it is not for friends and relations to start a discussion as to whether the unfortunate was right or wrong in going into the wood unarmed, but to hasten to his aid as quickly as possible.

The Russian socialists, who are at odds with the bolsheviks, have at last understood this elementary truth. At present complete unanimity reigns among all socialistic and labour circles in the matter of all and any kind of foreign intervention, that could and can only serve the interests of counterrevolution in all its shapes and forms. That moves to hope, that the handful of socialists who have emigrated from Russia and give vent to their passionate accusations against the bolsheviks in our capitals (without success by the way, except with the bourgeoisie and the cabinet socialists) will soon give up this enterprise. Should they not do so, they would oppose the entire revolutionary Russia that has just erected a united front against its inner and outer enemies. We will hope that the Russian example of revolutionary concord will be imitated here and that those comrades, whose «democratic» spirit is offended by the soviet system, will spare their criticism for another time, for the time when they will have forced French «democracy» to give up a policy that reminds all too vividly of the worst period of German imperialism.

Paul Faure.

From Brest-Litovsk to Versailles.

When the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between the representatives of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the representatives of the German Empire, the bourgeois press of the Allies, and particularly the French, spared no imprecations, calumnies, abuse and indignation. It took pleasure in showing to the masses, intoxicated during four years by the poison of bellicose journalism, socialist Russia on its knees before German imperialism, accepting without discussion the draconic conditions imposed by the German General Staff and the metal industry of Germany. In signing the Brest treaty, the bolsheviks knew what they were about. Lenin in particular cherished high hopes of the final victory of socialism, and asserted, that though momentarily weakened, owing to chauvinism, the German revolution will not in the least be retarded by the fact of a separate peace, that imperialism will end by complete exposure, that the example of the Russian socialist republic will continue to animate the nations of the entire earth, and that its influence will be tremendous. «No Marxist», says Lenin in the irrefutable theses of his report on the peace, «no socialist in general could dispute, without denying the fundamental principles of marxism, that the interests of socialism are superior to the right of a nation to self-determination».

The Versailles peace represents one of the consequences of the peace of Brest. Brest has turned against the German imperialists: soon Versailles, the Brest of the Allies, will turn against the Entente.

If one reads the peace treaty attentively one might take it for the work of an insidious Paris journalist, of a subtle joker, a master of irony. One may recognise the talons of the chief editor of the *Homme Libre* or the «tiger». One is astonished to miss in this document an article stipulating that the most beautiful German women be delivered over to the French General Staff. Why could not one also have stipulated for the emasculation of all male infants born during a period of fifty years after the signing of the treaty? The paragraph of section Fourteen relating to the guarantees, and commencing thus: «If Germany faithfully executes the clauses of the treaty, a gradual evacuation is intended...» is of a savoury irony. And yet the conditions, hard as they are, are far from satisfying the feudal imperialists and the military party. Marshal Foch, the very twin brother of General Hoffmann, has been complaining bitterly that the period of evacuation had been fixed at fifteen years instead of thirty. And really, one is astonished at this relative indulgence of the Allied diplomats, for from a

military point everything is justifiable and «strategic interests» know no bounds. In the manifesto of the International of the 9th September, 1870, Karl Marx wrote: «If it is military interests that are to determine national boundaries, territorial revendications will never be ended, for every military demarcation line necessarily has some drawback or other and may be improved by the annexation of adjacent territory; on the other hand, frontiers can never be fixed definitely and equably, for they are of necessity imposed upon the defeated by the victor, thus in consequence bearing within themselves the germs of fresh wars.»

In order to bait the masses, the plenipotentiaries of Versailles have invented several points that had been developed during the war by the press, the social-patriotic or social-pacifistic organs not excepted. They concerned the definition of responsibilities. — William II is indicted for having offended against public morality and the sacred authority of treaties. A demand for extradition has already been addressed to Holland and accepted. And these righteous men, these inexorable administrators of justice are very severe indeed to the unfortunate Hohenzollern; but did they ever think of accusing the murderer Czar of all the Russias, whose crimes are countless and whom their political and financial support made the enslavement of the Russian proletariat possible. In this question of responsibility the documents published by Comrade Pokrovsky and the Manifesto of the Communist International to the workers of the world give definite and incontestable judgment.

Similarly, in the hope of hedging in the revolutionary movement and to facilitate the work of the social-traitors, the treaty provides for permanent organisation meant «to ensure physical, moral and intellectual well-being of wage labourers.» What is the good of such delusion? The political, territorial, industrial, economical, financial, military, aerial, etc. . . by their very wording, show up the brutal illimited imperialism of the Allied Powers. Germany is treated like Persia, and like Poland of yore. The watchword of the worst English and French jingoists: *Delenda Germania*, is strictly applied. The partition of Germany, her annihilation has been decided by the international association of criminals, that goes by the pompous name of the League of Nations.

And in the end enfeebled Germany is brought face to face with a «Greater Entente.» The League of Nations, as Comrade Tchitcherin very justly remarked in an interview accorded to the *Isvestia*, is but an «enlarged coalition.» A few days before the signing of the treaty,

the central committee of the very bourgeois League of the Rights of Man itself declared, that the League of Nations threatened to become reduced to a League of the Allies, ruled by the great military Powers directed by governments not subject to the control of their peoples.

Here appears in its entirety the criminal stupidity of the social-traitors, who, since the invention of the formula of the League of Nations, declared themselves its determined partisans, and made it the supreme weapon of their «socialist» propaganda, economically and politically.

This League of Nations, which succeeded in enrolling some neutral states, who, since the fall of Germany sold themselves economically and politically to the Entente, (Switzerland, for example) is, as the internationalist revolutionaries asserted, constituted as a formidable counter-revolutionary league as opposed to the Universal Soviet Republic. It is directed not only against Germany, but against the labour movement. Thus, under cover of «disarmament» the peace treaty provides for the organisation of white guards, the sole task of which will consist in crushing the revolutionary movement of the masses. Democratic Switzerland, that calls itself the oldest of republics and democracies, has established a white guard corps, the «army police», long before the treaty of Versailles.

The Versailles treaty means the victory of brutal and cynical imperialism and the defeat of the moderate and elegant imperialism incarnated in President Wilson. The treaty of Versailles consecrates the triumph of counter-revolution, so perfectly symbolised by the dictator Clemenceau, whose work the treaty, in its main issues, is. France, which chatterbox politicians, penny dailies and the social-patriots like to represent as the country of revolution, as the country that is in the vanguard of progress, justice and civilization, is, on the contrary, the

country of military reaction and the most appalling counter-revolution.

However great the temporary victory of counter-revolution in the West may be, the League of Nations can not escape ruin, for it bears within its own self the antagonisms and rivalries existing between its various participants, which are at present temporarily dormant, owing to the brutal partition of the German spoil. It is precisely because the Versailles treaty is directed against the revolutionary movement, that it will remain merely a piece of paper¹.

If the results of the Versailles treaty were such as the signatories expect, they would evidently be disastrous to the revolutionary and soviet movement; but fortunately, the plenipotentiaries, whose sphere of vision is limited, have reckoned without considering history, which makes men, but is not made by men. If men like Wilson, Lansdowne, Lord Grey etc., sometimes gave proofs of a certain moderation a certain wisdom, and if in their speeches and articles they allowed that the Society of Nations is to be the new Charter of humanity, it is precisely because they foresaw the red future and nourished the secret hope of attenuating the violence of its outburst. The frank counter-revolutionaries have won the game at Versailles and that is very good, for they in their turn will soon be defeated by the revolutionaries.

I am firmly convinced that the Versailles treaty will serve as leaven to the dough of revolution.

Henri Guilbeaux.

¹ Some weeks ago, one of the chief representatives of the German capitalist class, Dr. Haas, declared at a meeting of the Democratic Party at Frankfurt: «Imperialism will conquer at the Peace Conference, for it is stronger than Wilson's will; but Entente imperialism will melt away as did the German, and prepare the way for bolshevism».

Franz Mehring.

Franz Mehring, the patriarch of German Communism, died in Berlin on the 3rd of February.

In truth, the rich man loses his enemy the poor man loses his friend.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed by scoundrels who call themselves «social-democrats». Franz Mehring was brought to his grave by an illness, the fatal issue of which was, of course, hastened by the piratical campaign undertaken by Siegelmann & Co., against the German working class.

Franz Mehring was born in 1846. His age, therefore, at present would be 73 years. Nevertheless, up to quite recent times, Franz Mehring preserved all his good spirits, and his friends, in fact, would call him the youngest of German Communists.

Mehring was born of an independent bourgeois family and received quite a bourgeois education. The first years of his work passed in the ranks of the bourgeoisie: for some years he even conducted an active struggle against the then German social-democracy.

In the eighties the opinions of Franz Mehring had undergone a radical alteration: Mehring went over to the side of the working class.

What seems so characteristic of Mehring is that his relations with German social-democracy are formed just at the moment when it is being subjected to the most violent persecution, both by the German Government and the German bourgeoisie. It is just during the years of the exceptional law against socialists, at a time when all new-comers withdrew from German social-democracy, when all so-called «respectable» people consider it a duty to denounce German social-democracy, when the intellectuals flee from the Labour party as from a pest, that Franz Mehring came to the conclusion that it was his duty to support the Labour party, oppressed, persecuted and denounced by the hatred of the bourgeoisie.

Franz Mehring thus became a member of the German Social-Democratic Party. Not many years passed before he occupied, together with Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Singer, one of the most prominent places in it. A brilliant publicist, he soon became a menace to the bourgeois press. His blows were always to the point. His pamphlets against Stekker (1882) and against the celebrated August Richter (1892) at once won for him a distinguished place in German journalism. Every political pamphlet of Franz Mehring becomes an important literary and to some extent political event. Every article of Mehring strikes hard at his opponent. Every literary arrow of this distinguished fighter goes straight towards its target.

Franz Mehring was also a powerful Marxist theoretician. In him we find the rare combination of a brilliant pamphleteer and an incomparable political journalist. Mehring was considered the first journalist in Germany, a distinguished historian and theoretician and a scholar. In the sphere of historical research, Franz Mehring gave us a most brilliant example of materialist conception of history. The celebrated work of Mehring, «Legend of Lessing» is, without any doubt, one of the leading works of materialist historical and Marxian literary criticism.

Mehring's «History of German Social-Democracy» is particularly well known. This book is not free from errors. For instance, that part of the appreciation given by Mehring of the position taken by Lasale, which does not coincide with the position occupied by Marx, has been repeatedly and quite correctly subjected to criticism. Mehring would not see the extent to which Marx was justified in his struggle against certain parts of the doctrine of Lasale (questions of «patriotism» and so on). Notwithstanding this, however, Mehring's work in question is a valuable one in the history of the international labour movement.

In the nineties, at the beginning of the struggle between the revisionists and the Marxists, Franz Mehring, without the least hesitation, immediately occupied a position as opponent of the revisionists. Together with Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, and Parvus (Kautsky and Parvus were at that time still socialists) Franz Mehring opened a literary campaign against the compromisers of those times, the revisionists. The blows struck by Mehring at the revisionists were always fatal to them.

For a long time Franz Mehring edited the newspaper of the Leipzig workers *The Leipziger Volks-Zeitung*. These years were the best of Mehring's literary work. His work put the Leipzig newspaper on an hitherto unattained footing. Thanks to him, the organ of the Leipzig workers occupies the chief place in the socialist press of the whole world.

Later on, Franz Mehring became one of the editors and the most distinguished collaborator of the scientific magazine of German social-democracy, *Die Neue Zeit*. The leading articles of Mehring in this magazine, which he signed by the mark of an arrow, were always a model of literary elegance and consistency.

During 1900-10 the chief editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, Karl Kautsky, began to turn to the right. Kautsky endeavoured to form a middle group, «the centre group». Kautsky began to vacillate between supporters of Rosa Luxemburg and the revisionists — Bern-

stein, David & Co. For a short time, Mehring occupied a neutral position in this struggle. But it was not long before Franz Mehring became convinced that Kautsky deviated from the position of Marxism and shamefully betrayed Marxian doctrine to the outrages of bourgeois laqueys, who call themselves social-democrats. Without the least hesitation, Franz Mehring declared war upon his old collaborator, Karl Kautsky. Gradually the struggle became more and more acute, until at length Franz Mehring broke definitely with the characterless Kautsky and his group.

Even before the war German Bolsheviks formed a «left-radical» group, as it is called in Germany. Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxembourg came forward as the first recognised theoreticians of this group. Not long afterwards this group was joined by Karl Liebknecht, as one of its political leaders.

Then the Imperialist War broke out.

On the 4th of August, 1914, German social-democracy voted in favour of military credits and in this manner went definitely over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Karl Kautsky put all his erudition into the movement in order by pseudo-Marxian arguments to justify the abject treason committed by Scheidemann & Co. Karl Liebknecht was the only one to vote against the war credits, and thus saved the honour of the German working class. Franz Mehring did not hesitate for one second; he put himself at once with Liebknecht and declared war upon the social-chauvinists.

At a moment when the debauch of chauvinism attained its highest point in Germany, when the whole of German social-democracy cringed at the feet of its adored monarch Wilhelm, when everyone in Germany was intoxicated with chauvinism, and when amongst the working class there was a particularly strong outburst of hatred towards the English, Franz Mehring, together with Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxembourg, came forward with the first manifesto in which expression of fraternal feelings towards English workers and to the whole working International is made. It is necessary to recall the atmosphere of that time, impregnated with general hatred, in order to understand the complete significance of the letter in question. It was the first swallow of the Third International.

Franz Mehring was unable to attend the Zimmerwald Conference. But he sent us a letter, full of friendly support. In this letter he stated: «strike not only at the Scheidemanns, but expose the supporters of the half and half «centre», lead by characterless Kautsky.»

Wilhelm's clique put Franz Mehring into prison. He, an old man of 70 years, was kept in almost unbearable conditions. But, as we are aware, the Wilhelm clique did not always act so shamefully as the Scheidemann gang acts now. Franz Mehring was released from prison, and without delay he again set about his work in the ranks of the German Bolsheviks. He wrote illegal articles, collaborated in the illegal newspaper *Spartakus*, sent

correspondence about the German labour movement to the Swiss international press, kept in touch with younger comrades, encouraging and calling them on to struggle.

Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg in prison, Clara Zetkin ill, for a time almost the whole intellectual leadership of the Spartacus group was placed on the shoulders of old Mehring. And Mehring managed his task in the most brilliant manner.

Right from the very first thunder-peals of the Russian Revolution Mehring was entirely on the side of the Bolsheviks. Akselrod, Martoff, and other mensheviks, who for many years had personal ties with all the leaders of German social-democracy including Franz Mehring himself, endeavoured by means of false information to inspire Mehring with the idea that the Bolsheviks are ruining the Russian Revolution. But Mehring observed the menshevik falsehood and remained wholly on our side . . .

We recollect the position of affairs immediately after the conclusion of the Brest Peace. We were told that German workers would appreciate this peace first of all as our betrayal of the German proletariat. In those memorable, difficult, mournful days it would have been difficult to find a calumny that was not heaped on our heads. In the German press the followers of Scheidemann and the supporters of Kautsky did not disdain to repeat the scandal which was circulated about us in Russia by our numerous enemies. At this moment Franz Mehring raised a voice of protest. He came forward with a celebrated article on the Brest Peace, in which he prophetically foretells the moment when the Brest Peace will turn itself against the German Imperialists who forced this peace on the exhausted Russian workers.

Since that time, as often as possible and as often as his health permitted him, Franz Mehring did not cease to send us article after article, in which he associated himself with us, Communists, in the most complete and unambiguous manner.

When the Czecho-Slovak counter-revolutionary revolt broke out, when the right social-revolutionaries and the mensheviks forced us to unsheath our sword and resort to the Red Terror, the campaign of calumny against the Bolsheviks augmented particularly in foreign countries. During this time the whole European bourgeois and compromisers' press wrote against us with maddened hate and unbelievable cynicism.

Again the aged Franz Mehring roused himself and in one memorable article of that time states: «Indeed, were the bolsheviks ten times more merciless in their struggle against the enemies of the Proletarian revolution, historical truth would nevertheless remain on their side!» And Mehring adds: «If the Bolsheviks remain in power, their exploits will be blessed by the working class of the whole world. But if a united reaction succeeds in overthrowing them, then the working class of the whole world will be thrown back for many decades»

When the Spartacus group changed its name into the Communist Party, old Franz Mehring was as happy as

a child. He called himself proudly by the name of Communist and reflected with pleasure that he would be able to devote the rest of his day to work in the ranks of this party.

Quite recently we had an occasion to converse with one of the leaders of the Young Spartacus League. With what warmth and tenderness did this comrade speak of the «old man», Franz Mehring! He conveyed to us the most cordial and friendly greetings from him.

Now Franz Mehring is dead! He died but a few days after his personal friends Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had been brutally murdered, died at a moment when the struggle for Communism in Germany entered upon its final stage.

Many workers of the older generation have turned their backs on us during later years. We accompanied people like Valian, Blochanoff to the grave with feelings of sorrow. We were grateful to them for the colossal work performed by them at a time when they firmly breached the current of opposition, when they paved the way to Socialism. On the other hand, we were indignant at the bourgeois policy conducted by them

during the latter years of their lives and the enormous harm which they brought to the working class cause.

It was with entirely different feelings that we accompanied Franz Mehring to the grave. We bent our heads with respect before the grave of the old and noble fighter.

The reader will remember the figure of the 20-year-old youth, the Spartacist, who, after the suppression of the Spartakus uprising, was compelled under the threat of a revolver to shout, «Long live Scheidemann!» and who, as he died, shouted «Long live Liebknecht!» This is the kind of Communist youth that Germany possesses. This figure of a self-sacrificing youth will remain forever an incomparable example of self-sacrifice and loyalty to the workers' cause. Together with him, in the Pantheon of Communism, will ever stand before our eyes the figure of a man, bent and gray with age, but inflexible in his Communism, a man who all his life, right up to his last moment, «knew but one power, but one fiery passion: the struggle for the victory of world wide communism»

G. Zinovieff.

V. Volodarsky.

(1891—1918).

On the 22nd day of June Red Petrograd unveiled a monument erected to the beloved leader of the city's workers, the ardent proletarian tribune, who a year ago, (June 20, 1918), fell by the hands of an assassin, a traitor to the labouring class.

«Until now», said Comrade Zinoviev at the unveiling of Volodarsky statue, «we have been erecting monuments to the fighters of past epochs. At the course of the last two years we have erected them to such eminent men as Tchernyshevsky, Kallayef, Jazars. This day we unveil the first monument dedicated on one of our own days, to the champion of the proletarian revolution, Comrade Volodarsky».

Born in the Government of Volynia, in the family of a Jew, a tailor by profession, Volodarsky from earliest youth devoted himself to revolutionary work, tearing himself therefrom only in so far as was necessary in order to satisfy his thirst for knowledge. After working for a few years in the «Bund» in Southern Russia and getting a taste of prison life, he emigrated to America in 1913; there he worked in a tailoring factory, entered the International Tailors' trade union and joined the American Socialist Party.

«Up to the day in which he sailed for Russia (April, 1917), says Comrade Vossov in his reminiscences of him, he was active in party work, as agitator, propa-

gandist and journalist, working among Jewish, Russian and English proletarians, manifesting the same characteristic which had distinguished him in Petrograd: stern asceticism, complete renunciation of personal interest, — he reserved not a minute for himself, but gave all his time to the party, to the labouring class.

He had long pined for Russia; the February revolution only hastened his departure, and in May, 1917, he was in Petrograd and at once flung himself into the vortex and joined the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

This is how Comrade A. Lunatcharsky depicted him in a speech delivered at a sitting of the Petrograd Soviet two days after his death:

«This man, sprung from a Jewish worker's family, after passing the ordeal of American emigration, seemed to bring from beyond the ocean a certain metallic electric quality, a capacity for compressing and making the most of time, something sharp and cutting foreign to the softer Slavic nature, something reminding one of a well-tempered blade and really yielding an efficient weapon in a struggle which, as he used to say, can be settled by arms alone. His speech was always to the point and as deadly as a rapier. And for this he was hated.

«A young man, but recently arrived, he kept in the background. Thus it was until July, up to the defeat which our party suffered then. Comrade Lenin had to

fly, Zinoviev was rescued, Trotsky was imprisoned, the Bolsheviks were being killed on the streets, our newspapers were suppressed and our organizations dissolved. At that time those who stood in the second row had to move to the front, and the first among these was Comrade Volodarsky. At a moment when a man might easily have lost his head, he said: «Not one step back». He was one of those who could inspire with courage hearts shaken by a first failure."

"From that time Volodarsky occupied daily a more conspicuous place in our party. We felt that we could hardly expect to find another man so true, of such iron strength. Wherever a breach was discovered, a weak spot, there Volodarsky was to be found. When the question arose, of who should direct the propaganda in Petrograd, we said: «Volodarsky». When it became necessary to organize a newspaper which should penetrate into the very centre of the working class life, be their very own, speak their language and express their thoughts, we said: «the editor of such a paper must be Volodarsky». And these answers given by us, the leaders of the centre, were always gratefully received by the proletariat. Yes, they felt that this man, who came out of their midst and returned to them with much knowledge, with great selfpossession in tactics, was their own journalist, their pen, their tribune».

"And he was feared, regarded with indignation, hissed at; abused; others found gentler words; he was rough of speech, the personification of the labouring classes; that class loves not to wear white gloves in speaking their minds; they tell things as they are. And when in speaking to the bourgeoisie, you tell things as they are, it becomes frenzied and revengeful. But if it takes off its whitegloves, it shows its claws and mercilessly plunges them into its adversary's throat. However, when it is frightened and quakes with terror, it demands humane treatment and gentleness and cries with hatred: «See, of them all, Volodarsky is the most embittered». He was the most truthful of men, had the most correct comprehension of the right correlations of men and things. At difficult moments when we frequently would go to Volodarsky, talk to him a while, listen to his metallic voice, his ardent eloquent speech, which, as the bourgeois papers themselves acknowledged, often converted a hostile audience into friends of our party, we said to ourselves:

yes, — such faith as this can rekindle any torch, any candle that has become temporarily extinguished».

"This assassination surely was not accidental. I do not believe it to have been accidental. They picked out the man who appeared to them the most dangerous. The details of the conspiracy are not known to me, but there is logic in it: And, on their accursed Nevsky, in their papers, they explain and justify their selection of Volodarsky. They hated this tribune of the labouring class with particular hatred. But now comrades, they may possibly be regretting their deed, if in directing the murdering hand, they were guided by anything like conscious reasoning. For Comrade Zinoviev was right when he said that such men do not die; they rise from their graves in full armour, giants. — Such victims never stay buried. I saw to-day Volodarsky's body and it did not produce on me the impression of a corpse. I could not realize that he was lonely, that he had gone from us. I saw him enveloped in an infinitely radiant atmosphere, created by the many that surrounded him: the statue-like Red-army men, immovably on guard, and all these whispering workmen animated by such mixed feelings of love and hatred, — and that working woman who wept over him as over a son, — verily like the sculptured Madonna of Christian art mourning the Christ, the son, not of her bed but of her class. And I tell you at the moment when he departed from this life he acquired life eternal! You sing that his memory may endure forever: it will and it shall and it will not be a hollow memory like the brazen effigies on public squares; it is a memory that will radiate revolutionary energy. He has gone into the sleep of the immortals, whither have gone the heroes of the great French Revolution and the victims of the Commune, and some of the dear comrades who fell in our own revolution. And he stands in the front row of them, teacher and fighter. Such men are immortal; they are unkillable. They give their whole heart to a cause which is eternal. Volodarsky gave to the cause of the labouring class his blood unto the last drop. And therefore shall his memory endure forever, a memory heroic, instructive, uplifting to courage and energy, — a memory before which let his enemies tremble and which will ever be our joy and our pride».

M.

In Memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches.

(From personal reminiscences).

In devoting this article to the memory of comrades Luxemburg and Jogiches, I combine their names not only because they shared the same fate—a martyr's death at the hands of the brutal henchmen of the German social traitors,—but also because these two eminent promoters of the cause were closely bound in life by a thirty years' friendship and joint labour in the service of the same ideas.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in 1870, in the small Polish town of Zamość, in a once wealthy, but later impoverished, Jewish family. In the beginning of the eighties the family moved to Warsaw and Rosa entered a girls' school. She preserved the brightest memories of her family life. Her mother was a cultured woman. She loved to read with her children the creations of Polish and German poets, and the impressionable girl grew passionately fond of poetry, and under the influence of these works herself began to write verse. She was specially devoted to Młskewitch and in her later literary work you will not often find a Polish article wherein does not occur some quotation from one or another of his poems. The family frequently suffered from actual want and often even the bedding was pledged for a few roubles; but even that did not provoke,—as such things too often do,—bitterness or depression of spirit. I remember Rosa relating how once she lit the lamp with a scrap of paper, which afterwards proved to have been the last money in the house which her father had procured with great difficulty. The old man not only did not punish his daughter, but, after recovering from the first shock, comforted her with jests about the expensive match. This sunny moral atmosphere undoubtedly aided the development of the intellectual gifts of the young woman's future champion.

These gifts were remarkable and showed already at school. Rosa graduated from the gymnasium with honours, and that she did not receive the golden medal was due only to the fact that the government was suspicious of her "political honesty".

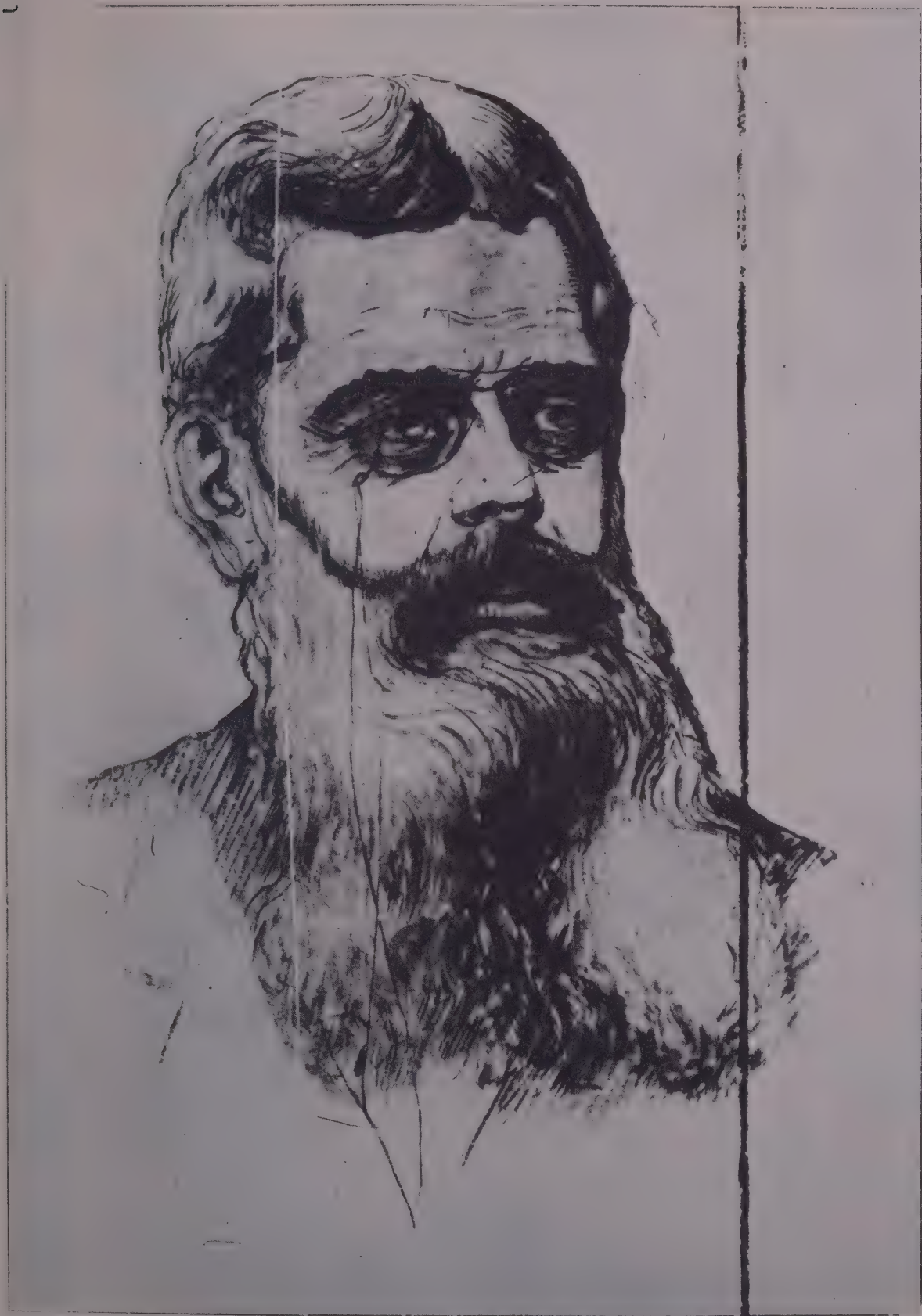
These suspicions proved well founded: as a schoolgirl she already belonged to a circle of youthful socialists, where pamphlets were read, published by the party calling itself "The Proletariat", and dreamed of going to work among the labouring class. But the police were not asleep, and, as early as 1888, the 18-year-old "conspirator" had to seek refuge abroad. Her flight was arranged by Comrade Caspijak, at that time the cleverest conspirator of the party, who subsequently ended his life on the gallows.

Luxemburg found herself in Zürich. There she lived in the family of a German emigrant, a social-democratic

journalist, Dr. Karl Lübeck. He was married to a Polish woman, and Rosa felt at home in that family. Lübeck was a very clever man of vast knowledge, but desperately ill, a paralytic. The warmest friendship sprang up between him and the young student; under his dictation she wrote the articles with which he earned his livelihood and talked with him for hours, continuing her studies under his guidance. Comrade Luxemburg in these first years of her studentship undoubtedly owed much to this exceptional man.

In 1891 Rosa became acquainted with Comrade Jogiches. I possess no information on his earlier youth, neither, so far as I know, do others who worked with him for many years. This is explained by the fact that Jogiches disliked to speak of himself and never confided anybody with his personal affairs. There may possibly be friends who know him more intimately, if so they will tell of his childhood and early youth.

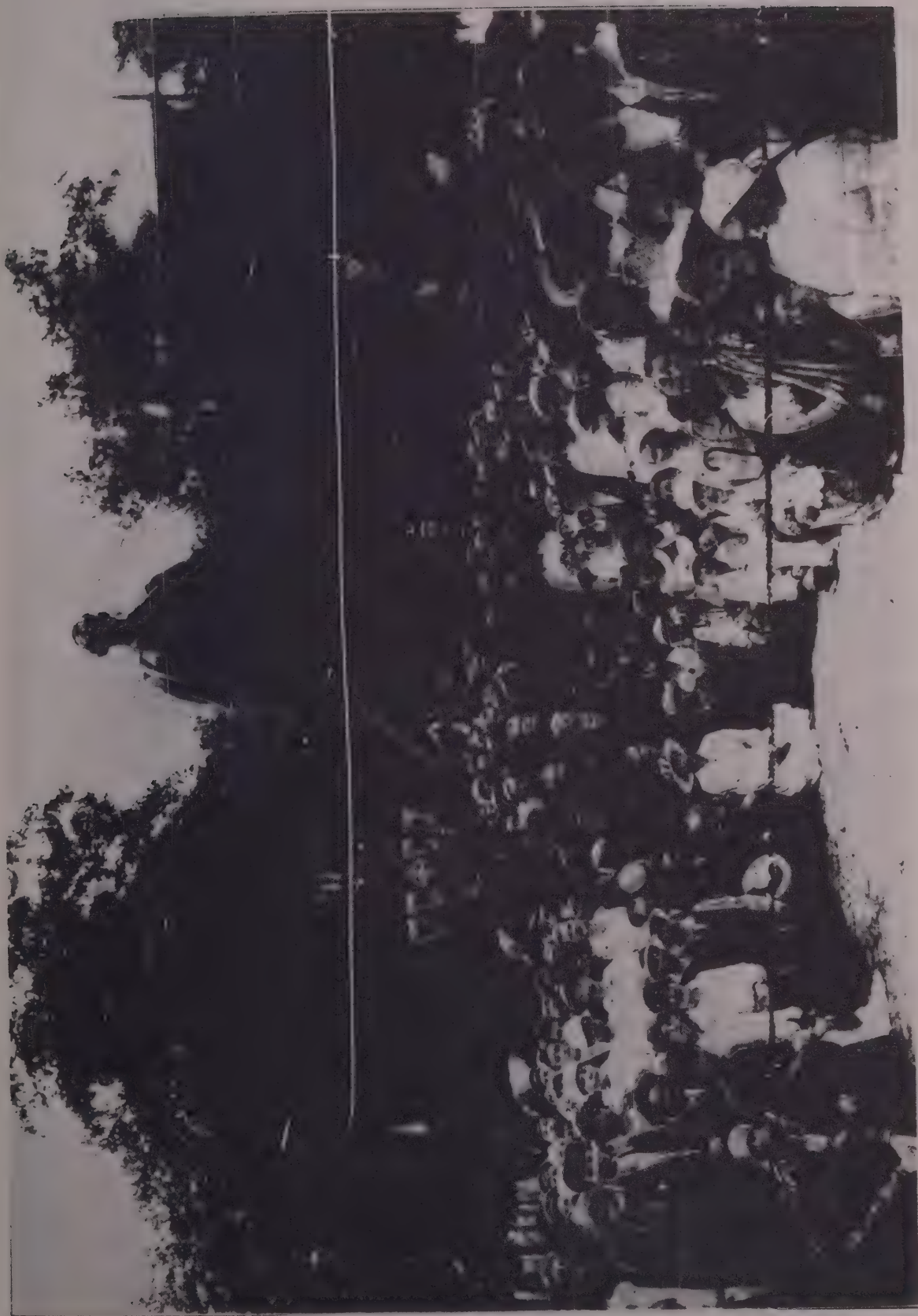
I will relate what I succeeded in finding out: Leo Samuilovitch Jogiches was born in Vilna in 1867, in a very wealthy Jewish family. He commenced early to participate in the revolutionary movement, and in 1888 was arrested by the Vilna police, "for active propaganda of anti-government ideas among the workmen". He was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, then was placed under police surveillance. In 1900 he fled abroad, so as to elude military service. Finding himself in Switzerland, he entered into relations with Plekhanoff but soon differed with him and left him. It was a time when very ugly conditions obtained in Russian social-democratic circles. The movement was but just beginning in Russia; and Plekhanoff arbitrarily managed the emigration. Whosoever did not settle matters with him personally, fell into disgrace, and his right to the name of social-democrat was disputed. Comrade Jogiches was not of an accommodating temper and would not submit to such a régime. He was soon joined by other members of the emigration and decided to act independently. The most urgent question then was that concerning revolutionary publishing: both the young emigrants and the labour circles in Russia stood in great need of literature. Jogiches could dispose of considerable means, and, having collected a group of contributors: (Kritchevsky, Riazanof, Parvus), proceeded to issue the "Social-democratic Library". Here his capacity for organization at once asserted itself. He did not write himself, but he proved an ideal editor, almost pedantically accurate; the issues appeared in excellent form and the transport also was well organized.



Franz Mehring, 1846—1919.



V. Volodarsky, 1891 1918.



Inauguration of the monument to V. Volodarsky in Petrograd, on June 22nd 1919.



Group of Delegates at the First Congress of the IIIrd International in Moscow.

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Simultaneously with his editorial work, Jogiches was engaged in adding to his scientific knowledge. He was remarkably well gifted and quickly found his way into the most complex questions, possessing a splendid memory and a vast amount of reading.

And more: Comrade Grozofsky (which was his pen name then) gave wonderful advice to the party journalists. Once having become interested in some particular question, he was able to prepare a most exact and practical plan for its elaboration; but he had difficulty in writing, though it were but the simplest newspaper article. He was conscious of this and nothing but absolute necessity could drive him to his pen.

And now, having become acquainted with Rosa Luxemburg, he grew interested in questions of Polish socialism, which agitated her at that time. He studied the Polish language, which he had not known till then, and that so thoroughly, that, later on, when he became editor of Polish periodicals, he most zealously extirpated Russicisms in the articles of Polish comrades. Soon he retired entirely from the Russian movement and devoted all his efforts to the Polish social-democratic cause.

Questions of Polish socialism at that time were exceedingly complicated and interesting. The revolutionary socialist movement, which found expression in the party, named «the Proletariat», headed by Ludovic Varinsky and Kunitzky, was passing through a hard crisis in the late eighties. The party concentrated all its forces on terror and was not capable of organizing the labouring masses, who, owing to the rapid growth of capitalism in Poland, instinctively took up a position on purely economic grounds. A «Labour League» was formed in Warsaw, which strove to assume control of the strike movement and, at the same time, carry on a Marxist propaganda. Meanwhile a split took place in the party «The Proletariat»; under the influence of the general outbreak of nationalist strivings in Europe, and of the false comprehension of the principle of Labour mass movement, the groups of emigrants who stood at the head of the party became possessed with a tendency of combining socialism with patriotism. Poland, as affirmed by the journalists of this tendency, is economically in advance of Russia, under whose political yoke she lives, and therefore the first object of the Polish proletariat must be the liberation of Poland and the creation of an independent Polish state, with a view to paving the way towards socialism. This resulted in the creation of the Polish Socialist Party.

The «Labour League» combatted this current in Poland, while in Zurich, the centre of the Emigrants, was found a group of young people which strove to oppose it by the general Marxist theory. To this group belonged Comrade Vesselofsky, who was brutally killed by Polish gendarmes; it also contained students, who later left the ranks of the revolutionary fighters, but distinguished themselves in other spheres (among these was one of the most eminent poets of modern Poland, Waslaw Berend).

It fell to Rosa Luxemburg to create a theoretical basis for the Polish social-democratic movement, and in Comrade Grozofsky she found a capable and self-denying assistant.

The theses, which formed the foundation of the new movement are as follows: Capitalism is developing in enslaved Poland hand in hand with capitalism in Russia, Germany and Austria; the closest bond is necessarily established between the bourgeois of the Polish provinces and the bourgeois of these dominant states; the class conflict in Poland is becoming sharper and makes a national rising against national enslavement impossible. The task before the Polish proletariat consists in combatting the capitalistic order conjointly with the Russian, German and Austrian workers; the conducting of this struggle, political and economical, is imperative taking into account the political conditions existing in each of those states,—in view of which the closest alliance with the socialistic parties in all of them is absolutely necessary; at the same time, of course, autonomy must be safeguarded, which makes it possible to satisfy the Polish proletariat's cultural interests as well. Only and universal revolution that will destroy the capitalist order and the universal sovereignty of capitalism,—only such a revolution will bring about the emancipation of all the peoples, including the Polish; so long as the capitalistic order dominates the creation of an independent Polish state is an impossibility. Consequently, the task of the Polish proletariat is to fight,—not for an independent capitalistic Poland, but for the overthrow of all capitalistic states generally.

All this to-day appears indisputable; but at that time an immense amount of labour was needed, to pave the way for these ideas. Rosa Luxemburg showed at once remarkable journalistic talent and brilliant theoretical gifts, and we willingly accepted her as our theoretical guide. Comrade Jogiches was her practical assistant,—although only the closest friends know of this at the time.

Soon the new movement had to stand its first battle on a wide arena. In the autumn of 1891 the «Labour League» was destroyed, and nearly all its leaders were arrested. Yet, in spite of this, in 1892, the 1st of May demonstration assumed immense proportions and showed that mass action of the workers had become a decisive factor in the social life of Poland.

In 1893 it became possible to renew and extend our revolutionary activity at home. Comrade Vesselofsky proved one of the most capable organizers. The new organisation was joined by workers of the «League» and such as were left of the «Proletariat» party. We decided to call ourselves «the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland». This denomination sounded strange to many, owing to the combination of «socialism» with «kingdom», but it was chosen with a very definite object: it indicated that we, consistent with our theory, were constructing our organization on specified territory, namely in that part of Poland where the proletariat had to

carry on the conflict hand in hand with the proletariat of all Russia. It so happened that in the same year, the International Socialist congress was convoked in Zürich. We determined to come forward on this occasion before the proletariat of the whole world. The Warsaw workmen sent a mandate to me, the foreign groups gave mandates to Rosa Luxemburg and Comrade Varshafsky. The leaders of the «Polish Socialist Party» started a furious campaign against us, and in so doing resorted to the abominable expedient, charging Varshafsky with the notoriously slanderous accusation of being a «Russian agent». There were among them men who had long stood in friendly relations to the leaders of the International—Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht; so they had no difficulty in presenting the matter in such a light as made us appear a band of intriguers, destroying the unity of Polish socialism. In spite of Rosa Luxemburg's brilliant oration in refutation of this lie, the congress decided to reject the mandates, both Rosa's and Varshafsky's. Plekhanov played a very shabby part in all this procedure: he was well acquainted with Polish affairs, and one word from this popular member of the International would have sufficed to unmask the intrigue, but he preferred to keep silent and afterwards confessed that it was awkward for him to «oppose the opinion of old Engels». Such things unfortunately occurred later more than once in the Second International: thing were often decided there in accordance with the sympathies or antipathies of popular leaders. We were defeated, but still interest was awakened in the International on questions of Polish socialism, and we were enabled to explain them in the French and German press. This task also fell mainly to the share of Rosa Luxemburg.

The elaboration of questions of the Polish labour movement kept advancing and the movement itself was gaining strength. During these years Rosa Luxemburg attended university lectures and, in 1897, wrote a brilliant doctor's dissertation on the theme: «The growth of Polish industry». In the seminar she was distinguished not only for sound knowledge, but also for brilliant dialectics, which showed in frequent disputes with the professor of political economy, Jélian Wolf, a vehement adversary of Marxism. We simply arranged amusement. I would entice the respected professor on a slippery theme, then we, clad in the full panoply of Marxism, would demonstrate to him that he knew nothing of such matters. We must do justice to the Zürich university to admit that, notwithstanding our aggressive attitude, the faculty placed no obstacles in the way of our both obtaining the doctor's degree.

In 1897 Rosa Luxemburg graduated from the university and decided to go to Germany; in order to have the possibility of open social activity, she contracted a fictitious alliance with one of Dr. Lübeck's sons, and, in this manner, became a German subject. She worked among the Polish workers in Posnagne and Silesia, and at the same time wrote in the German papers in the

scientific organ of the party, — the *Neue Zeit*. I had gone to Germany the year before and worked in Dresden, in an organ, the editor of which was Parvus. But in 1898 we were both expelled from Saxony, and Rosa was appointed editor of a Dresden paper, where discord forced her to abandon it and she soon became a contributor to the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* the editor of which was the then best German journalist Schenlang. After his death she edited his organ for some time.

That was a time when a crisis began in the German labour movement: Bernstein came forward and propagated «revisionism». Rosa Luxemburg rushed into polemics, and her brilliant articles helped to determine the tactical line. Questions of tactics soon became vital for the whole of Europe: there arose questions of participation of socialists in bourgeois governments and generally a sharp conflict began between the reformists and the revolutionist currents. In this conflict Rosa Luxemburg's great dialectical and polemical talent manifested itself in all its force: she soon became one of the most prominent champions of the revolutionary tendency. The Polish Socialdemocratic party appointed her a member of the international bureau, and from that time on, she carried on an uninterrupted war for revolutionary ideas on the widest possible arena. Here again Jogiches was her inseparable fellow worker. The intimate acquaintances of Rosa Luxemburg will know that she never sent to press one polemical or programme article without first submitting it to him. Nor did the two comrades neglect the work for the Polish movement. Luxemburg's apartment in Friedenau (a suburb of Berlin), was the centre to which comrades arriving from Warsaw, were sent to seek counsel on all new questions as they sprang up; thither also came Comrade Jogiches, in the hands of whom were the threads uniting the party at home with the emigrated comrades who worked for it abroad.

Thus, in constant fight for the revolutionary idea, passed the years from 1897 to 1905. All through this struggle Rosa Luxemburg rendered the proletariat immortal services, diverging not one step from the clearly traced line of revolutionary Marxism. A characteristic feature of her personality was that notwithstanding the merciless, at times even excessive, keenness of her polemics, her eminent opponents, among whom sometimes were such men as Jaurès and Bebel, showed her not only respect, but affection. A bond of closest friendship united her to Kautsky, over whom she had great influence at the time, urging him on whenever he gave way to opportunistic tendencies.

Then came the Russian revolution of 1905-1906, and, in that deadly fray the Polish proletariat proved a reliable vanguard. Comrade Jogiches hastened to Warsaw. Rosa Luxemburg also longed to be there. Vainly we all declared that she must stay in Berlin, as we needed her scientific work. In spite of our categorical declarations she arrived in Warsaw one fine morning with a German passport. Tysza (that was the alias under which

Jogiches then went), was indignant, but he had to submit. Rosa declared that nothing would make her leave her post, and set to work in our paper.

But alas, not for long. A few weeks later she fell into the hands of the police, and her identity was soon established. Fortunately even among the police disintegration had already set in. A threat of dire vengeance on one side, and a bribe on the other succeeded in getting her freed on bail, and soon after the comrades sent her back to Germany. She protested, but this time we were firm.

Tyszka was taken along with her. He had, all along, been doing splendid work. Thanks to him our paper was coming on beautifully. He had established the editorial office in a conspirative apartment situated in the centre of the city and kept up the strictest régime. As usual, he did not write himself; but not only each article almost every short item was written according to his indications, so that every issue should be, from beginning to end, as «cut out of one piece»,—but not a line was printed that was not before submitted to him. He kept his contributors under strict discipline, admitting no excuses on the plea of either fatigue or disinclination:

«You've got to work,—that's all there is about it.» And, seeing how indefatigably he laboured from morning till night, all willingly entered into this wonderfully organized work. Nor was his vigilance confined to the literary brotherhood only: he was merciless on typographical or technical imperfections of any kind: Heaven help us, if another type was used than the one indicated on the manuscript for this or that short item, or any issue which did not answer all the demands of the printer's art, and any mismanagement in the transport department, it was an unthinkable crime. The luckless offender would, sometimes after a month's interval, be reminded that, at such and such a time, five copies had been late in reaching their destination. There was nothing he did not remember, nobody he did not keep track of. Yet, in addition to his editorial duties, he had an immense amount of organising work to attend to. He thoroughly knew the whole course of party work to the smallest details and marked all with unwearying vigilance. But this sedulous attention to trifles did not impair the wide scope of his vision, and in all questions of tactics he was distinguished by remarkable bearing and foresight.

He was arrested in February, 1906, together with Rosa Luxemburg, and sentenced to eight years of prison with hard labour. In February, 1907, however, the comrades arranged his flight from prison. Comrade Gannetzky made all the preparations: the guards were bribed, clothes procured and the prisoner got away. I remember how he came to the office straight from prison, where he had to stay several days until a safer refuge could be provided. Affairs in the office were not as successful as they had been: the contributors were nearly all in confinement, the process of printing grew

more and more difficult, and our paper had lost much of its neatness. Tyszka immediately asked for a file, glanced through it, and was horrified: countless misprints. I pointed out to him that the proof reader frequently had to work in the basement, sitting under the machine. But this did not concern him: «Proofreading», he said, «requires a head and hands; so long as the man's head is on his shoulder and his hand is able to hold a pencil, it does not matter where he sits». Indeed, Tyszka himself was quite capable of working under such conditions. Then he sat down and drew up a series of instructions which appeared to him necessary for the improvement of affairs. He was taken to the frontier. I remember, by a revolutionary army officer, and, after safely crossing it, he at once set to work directing the foreign group's activity, which was gathering importance in proportion as the counter-revolution was gaining ground in Poland and all over Russia.

I met him again abroad at the London congress of the Russian social democratic party in the summer of 1907. The struggle was rife against the «minimalists» (Mensheviks), and Tyszka, who through all these years had not lost touch with the Russian comrades, quite naturally took the lead of the Polish group. He was familiar with Russian affairs to the minutest details, and took the most active part in the complex work which was required at the congress, where affairs were in a monstrous tangle. In such cases he became a «diplomat», persistent and determined in pursuing his ends, never for a moment swerving from a strictly revolutionary line of conduct. In this regard he was, of course, anything but a favourite with the «mésheviks» and «Bundists». True, it sometimes also came to quarrels with our «bol-shevik» (maximalist) comrades with whom we differed on questions of organization. But, thanks to the balance preserved by Tyszka, the relation between them and the Polish group always remained satisfactory.

From 1907 on Rosa Luxemburg was drawn wholly into German affairs. We were nearing the fatal period when, outwardly, all seemed well with the party, while, in reality, it was decaying at the root. It seemed as though the radical current had triumphed; the party congresses adopted highly radical resolutions, but they whose eyes were open, perceived that this radicalism was essentially worse than any opportunism: a disgusting spirit of career-hunting was developing in the party; party bureaucracy was growing to monstrous dimensions; there was the radical phrase but not the spirit. To combat these conditions, which at last led the party to the moral catastrophe of the 14th of August, 1914, was very difficult. Of the most influential leaders old Bebel had lost his former revolutionary sensitiveness; Karl Kautzky never having been in touch with the life of the party, now sank ever more deeply into bookish dogmatism. The new men in the ranks of the radicals,—all these Scheidemanns, Eberts, Haasens, never had been

revolutionists at heart, and saw nothing beyond the end of their own noses: the rest were common career hunters. No wonder, then, if in such an atmosphere, the leaders succeeded in representing Rosa Luxemburg, who never ceased to sound the alarm, and her companions as «captious critics» who disturb the peace of the party from sheer «love of bickering». Even Kautzky yielded to this current and his conduct in 1912 ended a long friendship. The weak-minded bookworm at last dared to insult Rosa and her adherents by calling them «anarcho-syndicalists».

Notwithstanding this nerve-rending conflict, Rosa in these last years found time for thorough scientific work. She was appointed teacher of political economy in the party school, and proved not only a first-class pedagogue, but, in addition, while most conscientiously preparing her lectures, wrote a splendid course of Marxist economy, which unfortunately never appeared in print. (It is to be feared that Noske's bandits who in the fatal January days invaded her rooms, destroyed this manuscript among many others). At that same time another great work of Rosa's was published «The Accumulation of Capital».

At the same time these were the most fruitful years of her activity. The persecution of Rosa Luxemburg by the heads of the party had no effect on the masses. In every city, even at the centres of revisionism, the workers loved to hear «our Rosa»; and her captivating oratorical talent acted even on those who were already infected with opportunism. I remember one man from Mannheim, I believe, telling what extraordinary effect her speeches produced: how on one occasion the workmen declared to their leaders they saw how they were being deceived, and demanded that Luxemburg be engaged for a whole series of lectures and disputes on party questions. Of such cases there were many.

In 1913, in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, she delivered a speech against militarism, for which she was indicted and eventually sentenced to a year in prison. But, during the period of bail, before sentence, she delivered another speech in Berlin, where she said, among other things, that in the barracks of Germany, the soldiers were daily subjected to inhuman violence and outrages. For this a new indictment was instituted against her. The defence undertook to prove the truth of the incriminated statement and called for witnesses through the papers. In June, 1913, a few weeks before the beginning of the world-war the trial began; on the day of the first hearing, several hundred witnesses appeared, ready to confirm all that had been told of barrack horrors and Rosa's counsel declared that he had the names of several thousands more.

The government took alarm; the trial was adjourned and never continued again.

During these years Comrade Tyszkowski worked in the Polish and Russian parties. They began to issue in Warsaw a legal weekly, but all the party writers having

been compelled to emigrate, the editorial work was carried on in Berlin and Tyszkowski, of course, was at its head. He was then staying at an hotel in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, and Franz Mehring, a great authority on Prussian history, made the discovery that this hotel had once been the palace of General Brangel, who put down the revolution of 1848. Each time he saw Tyszkowski, the old scholar affirmed that Brangel invariably turned round in his grave at the thought of such a revolutionist occupying his apartment. Our editorial office was established in a small room of the hotel, and here again Tyszkowski introduced a strict régime, storming angrily if the work were at all unsatisfactory. And, indeed, it was only by the greatest accuracy that the paper could be managed from Berlin, a thing that the literary crowd was incapable of doing. Still, owing to Tyszkowski's energy, things went on, notwithstanding that the paper was continually being suppressed and appearing again under new names; for the year that the paper existed, it changed its name, if I remember aright, seven times.

The reason why Tyszkowski had to work in the Russian party, which had become a federative part of the Russian party, as a member of the Central Committee. And, being pedantically accurate in all his work, he found it necessary to keep the Board of the Polish party informed with all common affairs; in view of the periodical assembly of the party in Berlin, he had to do all the clerical work, and do it alone under intolerable condition; he lived under an assumed name, the police might be down on him any moment; therefore the «office» was kept in the apartments of German comrades, where the papers were kept, and for correspondence he had the addresses of other Germans. Once we totalled up that Tyszkowski had, in this way dealings with something like a dozen different apartments. He maintained this system for conspirative reasons; he said his materials were distributed in such a way that, even should one place be ransacked, the police would find but a small portion of them, from which they could know absolutely nothing. Once I asked: «what would happen if he were taken suddenly ill, since no one would be capable of carrying on the work». The answer was simple: «I am not supposed to fall ill». And in fact nothing but an astonishing capacity for work and an iron constitution made it possible for him to get through with the mountains of work with which he loaded himself.

The war broke out. From the very first day Comrade Luxemburg started a propaganda against war. She expected to succeed in gathering together for joint work a select group of German comrades. The first thing that appeared needful to her was a manifesto, signed, if only by a small number of people most popular among the working classes. Tyszkowski at once decided that nothing would come of it. Nevertheless Rosa and I made an attempt. But in reply to her invitation to discuss the

question, only seven persons assembled in her rooms, and of those only two were at all prominent party workers: Mehring and Lentsch. The latter at first promised to sign, but afterwards went back on his word. There was nothing to do except that it should be signed only by Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Mehring: this of course, was not to be thought of and the project had to be abandoned. A reader unfamiliar with German affairs will possibly ask: «And what of Liebknecht?» Unfortunately Liebknecht was still wavering at that time, and it was only some months later that he made up his mind to enter the struggle against the war.

We had to decide on conspirative activity; and even to this very few agreed. The group which took up the work consisted of Comrades Luxemburg, Tyszka, Mehring, wife of Dunker, Ernst Meyer, Wilhelm Pick, Eberlein, Lange and myself—that, I believe, was all. Our assistants in «technical» work were Mathilde Jakob and Yezersky. The position was not encouraging; we had neither money nor party machinery, and besides that, the German comrades had not an inkling of conspirative work. Still, the thing was begun. Tyszka and Meyer undertook to manage the printing. Pick, Eberlein and Lange, with the help of their connections, offered the possibility of the diffusion of the literature, but very soon it was Tyszka again who had to take charge of both these departments. Thus we were enabled to issue a series of leaflets against the war. In addition we decided to take up the publication of a legal journal: *The International*, but it was suppressed after the very first issue.

In February, 1915, the sentence against Rosa Luxemburg was confirmed and she was confined in prison for a year. Still, she contrived to write and smuggle to us, principally through the agency of her able and devoted worshipper, Mathilde Jakob, leaflets and a pamphlet, under the title: «The Crisis of Social Democracy». She insisted that the pamphlet be published under her own name, but we knew that would mean prison with hard labour and refused. The pamphlet bore the pseudonym of Junius.

The term of imprisonment expired, Rosa once more appeared in our ranks. Now Liebknecht was also with us, and things went on on a larger scale. But already in June, 1916, she was again imprisoned, «by administrative order». I, too, was confined at the time in a «concentration camp», but I know that Rosa even then managed to write leaflets, which appeared under the title: «Letters of a Spartacist». I also know that the printing and propagation of these leaflets was wonderfully provided for, owing first of all to Tyszka's incredible energy. Thanks to his matchless conspirative capacity, the German authorities never succeeded in arresting him, notwithstanding the fact that, in consequence of nearly all the capable workers of the «Spartakus» group having been either arrested or sent to the front, he was forced to work in pretty wide circles and attend public meetings. Thus it was well known to the police that some mysterious foreigner was at the head of that group. But in the

spring of 1918 Jogihe was arrested after all. Comrade Yoffe's efforts to have him liberated did not meet with success, because Jogihe was reckoned as a Swiss citizen (In fact, as early as 1896, he had acquired the rights of citizenship in one of the cantons and for the last years had been using his Swiss passport in Berlin).

I was not fated to meet Rosa Luxemburg again. I arrived in Berlin from Moscow on the third day after the catastrophe. But what I witnessed by the participants in the revolutionary struggle did but confirm what I had never doubted: she, jointly with Karl Liebknecht, had been the leading spirit of the Spartacus movement, and her unshrinking fellow worker through all that time had been Jogihe. I found him at work. He had been arrested in the days of the January rising, but had managed to get free and went to work at once. It was urgent to concentrate again the scattered forces, to form anew a central Committee of Spartacist-communists, in short to construct an organization.

Jogihe proved equal to the occasion. Owing to his energy, the party's work was renewed almost immediately after the catastrophe. There was a new rising of the communists in March, during which he finally succumbed: he was arrested and brutally killed in prison.

I am not in a position just now to give a review of Rosa Luxemburg's scientific and political work. That would demand much historico-critical labour, the more so that her activity during a considerable period fecundated both the Polish and the German revolutionary movement and, besides that, reacted on the universal movement, as the principal forces of our never-to-be-forgotten comrade, ever since 1897, were directed in the struggle against opportunism as an international evil.

But I will draw the reader's attention to the fact that, in her last theoretico-tactical work, in the pamphlet entitled «The Crisis of Social Democracy», she left us valuable directions for future work: I am speaking about the «Theses» placed at the end of that pamphlet and concerning the International. The pamphlet, as mentioned above, was written in 1925, in prison. Her thorough knowledge of the Second International prompted her clear and positive statements on the inevitable dissolution of the Second International and the absolute necessity of creating a new International on new principles. Since that time there have been great changes: the revolution in Russia and the actual realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country and in Hungary have created a new situation. But on the whole Comrade Luxemburg's idea remains true. She asks herself what the new International should be and gives the following answer:

«Class war in bourgeois states against the ruling classes, and international solidarity between the proletarians of all countries,—these are two inseparable rules of the workers in their universal struggle for liberty.

There is no socialism without the international solidarity of the proletariat; there is no socialism without class war. The socialist proletariat cannot, in time of either peace or war, renounce class conflict and international solidarity without being suicidally untrue to itself.

«In the International lies the centre of gravity of the class organization of the proletariat. The International defines, in time both of peace and of war, the tactics of national sections in questions of militarism, of colonial policy, of commercial treaties, of first of May celebrations,

and of the general tactics in case of war. The duty of executing the decisions of the International takes precedence of all duties to any other organization. Any national sections that do not submit to these decisions, thereby exclude themselves from the International».

At present we are still far from the organization of such an International, but, by working in this direction, we fulfill the behest of the memorable martyr of our cause.

J. Markhiefsky (Karsky).



DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

Affiliation of the Swedish, Norwegian and Bulgarian Parties to the Communist International.

On the 14th of June the Conference of the left wing of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party by 186 votes against 22 resolved to affiliate with the Communist International. A proposal was also put forward on «conditional» affiliation, but this proposal was defeated by 124 against 84. Neither the text of the resolution on affiliation or the report upon the meetings of the Conference has reached us yet. We are informed only of a resolution moved at the Conference, in which the proletariat is warned against «democrats» and «reformists», but it is advised to continue to participate in parliamentary work, by using it as a means of propaganda, until revolution in Sweden will also have entered upon its last stage: instead of a parliamentary constitution, a soviet system must be instituted by aid of proletarian dictatorship. This document reads: «The left wing of the Swedish Social-Democracy regards the socialist world revolution as the only salvation of the working class and of all humanity from the horror in which it has been thrown by a world-war born of Capitalism».

The Conference of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Labour Party took place on the 8th of June. The Conference resolved to affiliate with the Communist International and accepted a resolution on the inevitability of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The question of the Soviet system was on principle decided in the affirmative: in adapting itself to Norwegian conditions, the Party proposes to form soviets of «workers', peasants' and fishermen's deputies»: by 275 votes against 63 the Conference resolved to prepare material relative to the Soviet system and to present it for final decision at the next Party Conference. The proposal to send greetings to Comrade Lenin was accepted by the Conference with enthusiastic applause. The Conference decided to take part in the elections, to attain electoral reforms and to make use of the election campaign as a means of agitation, but authority was given to the Party Committee to boycott the elections and Parliament in event of circumstances changing.

On the 22nd of June the Conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party «Tseniaks» declared itself a section of the Communist International.

The Italian Socialist Party and the Third International.

The Committee of the Italian Socialist Party at its meeting of the 19th of March in Milan carried an extremely important resolution on the Party's resignation from the Brussels International and its affiliation with the new Communist International, the centre of which is in Soviet Russia.

Comrades Jennard, Serratti and Bombacci proposed the following resolution, which was accepted by 10 votes against 3 (Lazzari voted against the resolution):

The Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declares:

1. That the Brussels International Socialist Bureau has been converted into an instrument of military policy in the hands of a pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie, an instrument which serves to delude the proletariat and which hinders the restoration of the work of the revolutionary socialist International:

2. That all efforts to arouse the energy of the world proletariat through the intermediary of the Brussels Socialist Bureau, which has gone over to the Imperialist bourgeoisie of the countries of the Entente, are in vain:

3. That the alliance concluded in Bern between the social-patriotic tendencies of two Imperialisms, — the countries of the Entente and the Central Powers, — still more clearly betrays the reactionary character of all fractions which have not fulfilled the duty of the International in relation to the capitalist bourgeoisie, which drew all the nations into a state of war.

4. That it is impossible for those who have preserved their faith in the principles of the International to remain in one organization with those who betrayed them and who oppose the realisation of Socialism.

5. That the Bureau, instead of convening a Conference of all affiliated parties and organizations immediately upon the conclusion of the war preferred the loophole offered it by the comedy of a Socialist International Conference — the Bern Conference.

The Party resolves, therefore, to resign from the International Bureau and to affiliate itself to the new revolutionary Socialist International, founded on the basis and principles of our Russian communist-comrades . . .

* Editorial Note. The text of this resolution has been taken from the Swiss newspaper, «Volksrecht», which bears here the mark of the censor.

The American Socialist Party and the International.

The American Socialist Party, whose leader has newly been sentenced to ten years imprisonment for anti-war propaganda, and which, having joined the Zimmerwald movement with all its might opposed the participation of America in the war, had sent a delegate to the Bern conference. But he never appeared there. Now the *Avanti* throws some light on the matter: A number of sections violently protested against the resolution to take part in the Bern conference. Comrade O'Neill, it being too late for him to go to Bern, explained in the party press that he had received instructions to first of all become acquainted with the movement in Europe and get into touch with the European comrades. He said that he would not have supported any policy contradictory to the directions of his party.

The reason why the above explanation had to be given is to be looked for in the strong growth of the «extremist» wing of the party which want to sever all connection with the Second International and to join the revolutionary third International. This group has presented a declaration of their principles, which is to be submitted for examination to the sections. The declaration demands: the revision of the party programme with a view to the abandonment of a reformist attitude; the education of the proletariat exclusively in the spirit of the class struggle and revolution; support of the trade unions by means of revolutionary propaganda; strictest Party control over socialist employees, the socialist press and other socialist institutions. The immediate demands are: 1, A party conference to be called with a view to the

reorganization of the party, and the elaboration of instructions, indispensable for the realisation of the tasks of the party in the present universal general crisis; 2, Non-participation in the Bern conference; 3, Convocation of a Zimmerwaldian conference; 4, Unconditional expression of solidarity with the Soviet Government and the Spartacist-Union, as well as of the other Socialist groups of Europe standing on the same platform.

(*Volkerecht*, March 24th, 1919).

On the 16th of February in New York the «left wing» of the American Socialist Party was organised. It published a manifesto censuring the tactics of reformism, putting forward as the only expedient tactics the «mass action of the workers». The manifesto subjects the Bern conference to keen criticism and summons all socialists to rally round the future Third International, the foundations of which are about to be laid by the Russian bolshoviks and the German spartacists.

This left wing took root in Michigan, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, but particularly in New York, where it at present publishes a weekly organ. A bitter struggle is going on here between the old party and the left current, growing ever fiercer.

The old leaders accuse the left wing of perverting all democratic principles and summon the members of the party to keep aloof from the «mutineers and separatists» though the influence of the latter grows so fast that the right wing is apprehensive of party control going over into their hands.

(*Suomen Sosialidem.* 3/VII. 1919.)

THE BERN CONFERENCE.

From the New French Socialist Revolutionary Paper, *La Vague*.

During four and a half years of war, the governments of the belligerent states, the leaders of the Socialist parties, and Trade Union organisations, each by different methods, have systematically opposed all attempts at an International Conference.

To-day the storm has passed, the soldiers have «ordered arms», the machine guns have ceased to mow down men, and still more men. And our Internationalists who were silent while the guns were speaking, are speaking now that the guns are silent.

Read the names of the majority of the delegates who have come to Berne from the four corners of the earth and for

each country you will easily discover, in these representatives the heroic host of stay-at home of the working classes of the world patriots, of rabid supporters of endless war.

Workers be on your guard!

You will have to-morrow only a caricature of the International, just as you have had since the beginning of the war. I was even on the point of saying, just as you have always had but caricatures of Socialists!

The Nationalist Socialists and Trade-Unionists, who but yesterday were insultingly throwing the names of Lenin and Trotzky in our teeth: who vilified the Russian Revolution, who strove to gloss over their actions by putting

them under the label, «the country's highest interests»,—these men have no mandate to reconstitute the International.

And yet these were the men who at the very beginning of the Conference hurled accusations at the heads of the German majority.

Responsibilities and complicities! Who, then amongst the Nationalists and patriots assembled together at Bern has not had his full share in them. Ex-Ambassador Albert Thomas, who embraced the priests and incited to war—is he to be the judge, the «J'accuse» of the International?

A low comedy, indeed! Renaudel, Poisson, Dubrelle, and Thomas cannot be judges. They themselves are in the dock!

What are men like Morgari, Lazzari, Adler, Loriot, and Ramsay Macdonald doing in this sorry business?

At an hour when everywhere the Revolution is growling, sweeping autocracies into the refuse heap, overturning thrones, and threatening even the dictating «democracies», the Conference must perforce be discussing the Society of Nations. The Society of Nations which will emerge from the Peace Conference at Paris, the work of men like Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and even Wilson, with all the due respect to his worshippers, will serve as a most powerful weapon against Revolutions and the International.

It will prove to be a formidable «consortium» of Capitalist states, a cartel of bourgeois governments, an association to exploit the peoples kept in a state of serfdom.

This Society of Nations, which, of old, used to seem to me a necessary step in universal evolution, appears to-day only a useless and even shameful step in the rapid march towards the setting up of the world-wide Socialist Republic. It is not a step forward, it is a hindrance.

It will not be a union of associated peoples, but a coalition of the capitalist and governing classes of every land. By broadening their field of action, governments will be only the better armed against revolutionists; and militarisms bound together by a new pact, will serve as an international police charged with protecting the bourgeois social order.

In face of the gigantic movement of the peoples in the throes of revolution, how paltry and ridiculous appear the beggings and prayers of «patriotic» groups to be admitted to a place round the green table at the Peace Conference.

Is it possible to link the proletariat—by the participation of its delegates—with labours of the diplomats who, under cover of the Wilsonian formula, «the right of the peoples to dispose of themselves», will legalise the spoliation of the peoples?

No, the International cannot be reborn from the hands of those who have killed it. Gompers, Jouhaux, Roussanoff, Albert Thomas, cannot be associates of Lenin,

Trotsky, Fritz Adler, Hayward, Morgari, Borghi, Lazzari, of the Bolsheviks and Spartacists.

The names cannot be reunited, these men cannot come to an Entente, or understand one another working together, they could achieve no useful work. This coupling of names is anti-Socialistic. Away with you, the Vanderveldes and Thomases. By leaguering yourselves with war governments, by placing yourselves on ministerial benches, you have been put under a ban by Socialism and the International.

National antagonisms, industrial jealousies, colonial rivalries which bind and chain people to people and race to race in hatred—all such hideous barbarities can only disappear before the persevering efforts of men, who, in every land, proudly, boldly and in face of nationalists, whether these latter are Royalists or Socialists, proclaim themselves citizens of the world. The only true Internationalists are those who are brothers to men of all lands and races, those who have but one country, Humanity. They alone are qualified to set up the true International.

L'Internationale du 15 Février, 1919. N° 1.

Raymond Pericat.

Views of International Socialists on the Bern Conference

«The working class is either revolutionary, or does not exist as a political body»

«Let the Bern Conference divert itself with the discussion of territorial problems and questions of responsibility. In reality there is only one question—revolution. Whether you will or not—you must either be for it, together with the bolsheviks and spartacists, or against it together with the capitalist bourgeoisie. The intermediary position taken up by the Bern Conference has but one aim—to evade the responsibility of a straight reply. The proletariat must tear off the mask from the sycophants of socialism, from its secret enemies from the weak and the irresolute. The workers must actively remind those who spoke at Bern in their name, that «the working class is either revolutionary—or it does not exist as a political body».

P. Loriot.

(Member of the Left Wing of the French Socialist Party).

„Our Aim—a Socialist League of Nations“

„The revolutionary socialist youth of Europe should unite into a single strong body for the purpose of firm and resolute struggle. Bourgeois reforms do not satisfy us. Our aim is to establish a European Socialist League of Nations. We refuse further to serve as mere material in the hands of the generals and the capitalists. We want to live, we want to live for socialism, which to us means a new society, new and clean relations between nations and men, on the basis of an economic revolution. We want to live and fight in the name of love and humanity“.

ERNEST TOLLER.

(Member of the Executive Committee,
of the Bavarian Council of Workers'
and Soldiers' Deputies).

„We Want Communism Instead of Capitalism“

„The working class is either revolutionary—or it does not exist as a political body“. The conference is convened by the governments of the capitalist world for the purpose of putting the revolution to flight. The revolutionary proletariat was not represented at the Congress. Branting, Thomas and Ebert were triumphant. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world should advance along revolutionary lines. Seizure of political power! Proletarian dictatorship! The arming of the working class! Disarming and elimination of the bourgeoisie! Mass uprisings!—These are our watchwords. Our hopes are not with Wilson, but with the class struggle. We do not seek justice with the capitalist monster,—this would be utopian. We want Communism instead of Capitalism. „Workers of the world, unite!“

VALERINE MARKU.

Delegate of the Rumanian
Socialist Party).

The Bern Compromisers and the Emancipation of Women.

What has the Bern International Socialist Conference done for Women? Nothing,—absolutely nothing. Not a single question connected with the improvement of our position was raised. Nor was it possible to make any kind of demonstration at this assembly, because the conference consisted of men who have abandoned their post in the international class struggle. These men are against us, they cannot but be against us,—it is the result of their standpoint. Thus our task at the present moment is to convene an International Women's Conference, a conference of comrades who are attached to the

revolutionary class struggle and filled with a determination at all costs to prevent a second mad wholesale massacre of the proletariat. Not only the women of the warring empires but also the women of the neutral countries have unspeakably suffered by reason of these mass executions, and it is now their bounden duty to make every effort possible to prevent its repetition. This can be achieved only by the most unrelenting class struggle against the bourgeoisie in every so-called „fatherland“.

LUISA MÖNCH.

The „Avanti“ of the Bern Conference.

The bourgeois press cannot hide its joy at the decision of the Conference of jingo socialists. This so-called International enjoys the hearty sympathy of the bourgeoisie,—of the bourgeoisie it ought to annihilate. This is easily to be understood. At the Bern conference the social-patriots, under cover of the flag of democracy, took up an attitude hostile to social revolution. The discussion on the subject of the mighty Russian revolutionary movement proves this clearest of all. It was evident from the whole course of the conference, that its participants were bound to take up such a position. The so-called „New International“ is a farce, and like every farce, must very soon come to an end. It can go on for a certain time on strength of the support it gets from the European bourgeoisie. But the irreconcilable cannot be reconciled; patriotism and the International are incompatible antitheses. To try and achieve a compromise between the two at a moment when great national problems are being solved, when the governments of different countries are trembling for their fate, and the „internationalists“ of Bern are being invited into the cabinet,—such an attempt is sheer folly. With such an „International“ we have nothing to do nor have our comrades all over the world who stand under the banner of class war. The socialist proletariat will not be made a fool of: it knows perfectly well that a wide gulf lies between it and this International.

All must be built up afresh, and will be built up afresh,—the International also, the first spark of which was kindled, in a dark and tragic time in the village of Zimmerwald, amidst attacks and persecution of the bourgeoisie that had turned the whole world into an ocean of blood, amidst the hatred and calumny of many of those, who thought yesterday in Bern to play the part of guardians of Socialism.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

To the Conference of the Socialist Party in Hungary.

(Radio).

COPY TO BELA-KUHN, BUDAPEST.

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its hearty greetings to your Party Conference, which assembles at such a responsible, historical moment. The whole of the Communist International is proud of its Hungarian Section, which has achieved such gigantic work during a short space of time.

We are firmly convinced that the foundation of unity of the whole of the Hungarian proletariat, laid by you in March, 1919, will be unshakable. Only apostates, renegades and people who have broken with the working class can at present make objections against Proletarian Dictatorship. Every honorable and class-conscious adherent of the working class must at present become a Communist.

A month ago our hearts were aching with pain when we perceived that bands let loose against you by the Entente were commencing to encircle your Red Budapest. The heroic energy of the Hungarian workers caused the bandits to retire from the Red Hungarian capital. This month of noble and self-sacrificing struggle against foreign invaders forms a golden page in the history of Communism. The work carried on by your Party during this time has become part of the history of the Third International, as a never to be forgotten chapter in the history of the liberation of the Proletariat from the chains of Capitalism.

Your Party, not in words, but in deeds, demonstrated that the working class of to-day is capable not only of overthrowing its own bourgeoisie, but also of conducting revolutionary warfare against a foreign bourgeoisie in the defence of their socialist fatherland. Your Party was able to steer the ship of the Proletarian Hungarian State midst rocks and cliffs, and we are convinced that in the future also you will be equal to your task.

Comrades! You can have no idea what an enormous and beneficial influence your work has on the Communist Party and the Groups of all the world.

Everyone who is honorable amongst the workers of all the world hates your enemies and is inspired with love towards you.

The Proletarian Revolution is growing. Be sure that before long the whole of the civilized world will become Communist. Neither the brutalities of bourgeois Governments, nor the treason of social-chauvinists will save a putrid, capitalist society, which is dragging out its last days.

But stern battles are still ahead of us. In order that we may be fully prepared for them, we must continue uninterruptedly to form our Red Army. Arm and organise, organise and arm. Then organise again and arm again. The rest will come of itself.

Long live the Communist Party of Hungary!

Long live the World Revolution!

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

G. Zinoviev.

12th of June, 1919.

Greeting of the Third International to the Communists of Slovakia.

(Radio)

Budapest, Bela Kuhn.

Be so kind as to send following greetings to the Communists of Slovakia in our name:

The Communist International is happy to send its greetings to the newly-born Soviet Republic of Slovakia. We are firmly convinced that there is no force in the world capable of turning back the wheel of history. Capitalism signed its own death warrant when the Imperialist slaughter of 1914 began. The triumph of the social-traitors, who obstruct the labour movement, will be but short-lived. The Soviet Power will inevitably conquer in the whole of Europe, and afterwards in the whole world.

To you, leading fighters of a new born Soviet Republic, we send our hearty greetings.

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

G. Zinoviev.

27th of June, 1919.

On the Murder of Rosa Luxemburg.

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany.

On the 13th of June you will bury the mortal remains of Rosa Luxemburg. On this occasion, class-conscious workers of all countries will once again share with you the sorrow of an irreparable loss.

The Government of the social-traitor, Scheidemann, has given an example of what so-called Democracy is to the whole world. Bourgeois democracy, or the democracy of compromisers, is a political structure under which the best fighters of the Proletariat are murdered and thrown into the first ditch with impunity by agents of the Government. Under the Government of the «social-democrat» Scheidemann, Communists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are murdered, whilst General Hoffmann and General Hindenburg are crowned with laurels in the name of the «socialist» republic. The «democracy» of Scheidemann disarms the workers and arms the white guards, landowners, and the sons of the bourgeoisie.

People like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who were the pride of the proletariat of the whole world,

have been killed, whilst the German bourgeoisie, with the obvious connivance of the Scheidemann Government, arranges an easy escape for their murderers from prison on an automobile.

Comrades! Your task is difficult but your victory certain. The present plundering régime of social traitors will be substituted by the dictatorship of the heroic German proletariat. It is as inevitable as night after day.

Together with the leading proletariat of the whole world we bend our heads before the grave of the great foundress of the Communist International.

Fraternal greetings to the splendid Communist Party of Germany!

In everlasting commemoration of Rosa Luxemburg.

President of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International,

G. ZINOVIEV.

12. VI. 19.

Report of Comrade Grube.

(German Austria).

Dear Comrades:

We, the delegates from German Austria, are at a loss for words to express the feelings that overwhelm us in your midst to-day. After journeying for eighteen days under the greatest difficulties we arrived here an hour ago and convey to you the greetings and heartiest congratulations of our revolutionary comrades in German Austria. We are to welcome all of you, but first and foremost, comrades, we must do honour to our Russian comrades. For the great revolution they achieved more than a year ago has given the revolutionary forces in Austria a mighty impetus. It is only thanks to this that we have a large communist party in the whole of German Austria to-day, and history will raise a monument to our Russian comrades, for they have made a world revolution possible.

And now I wish to report to you on the events that led to the formation of a communist party in German Austria, and on their development.

The peace of Brest-Litovsk was being prepared for. In Austria raged the famine, combined with the dictatorship of the governmental and military power. The proletariat wanted Austria to at last withdraw from the butchery. The representatives of diplomacy put the proletariat off by means of promises. It was told that peace would be concluded shortly. But this was not the case. The proletariat saw that it had been cheated once more. The conditions of life went from bad to worse. In January, 1918, a tremendous movement arose that started in the industrial centres south of Vienna, and in a few hours found its way to Vienna itself. The wheels stopped turning. The representatives of the party in parliament were speechless. The proletariat wished to have nothing to do with the leaders of the trade unions, nor with those of the party. After the movement had lasted for two days and had spread over all the industrial areas, the leaders of the trade-unions and the party gathered their wits and tried to lead the movement into another channel. This was the cause of the whole movement coming to nothing. The comrades, Seitz, Renner, Leuthner of the party, Comrade Domes of the trade unions, put themselves at the head of it and promised to uphold the interests of the working masses. However, they declared Austria had no right to withdraw from the ranks of the belligerent countries, for that would mean a collapse of the economic existence of the proletariat. Again the workmen let themselves be duped

by their parliamentary representatives. The latter placed themselves between the government and the wage-earners. They put forth some demands, received from the government the declaration they desired, and the wheels had scarcely rested for a week when the toilers returned to their daily work.

What was bound to happen, did happen. The government realized that the representatives of the workmen were an excellent instrument in its hands, and gave the proletariat nothing at all. It even forgot its promise that the leaders of the movement were not to suffer. They were either sent to the front or put into jail. Their lives were shattered. Nor were any of the other promises kept. The comrades working with the government under the name of left radicals were stigmatized by the leaders of the party as political offenders; the leading comrades had to leave the party.

The collapse at the fronts in Italy and Bulgaria, the famine in the country, the decay of the organising machinery for the distribution of food-stuffs, the streaming of the soldiers back from the fronts,—all this finally led to the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In correspondence with their ethnographic bases several republics were formed—the Tchékh; South-Slavonic and the Hungarian republic. Nothing remained of the former great Empire but the remnant of German Austria, with approximately 9 million inhabitants. Only at the eleventh hour did the social democracy in German Austria make up its mind to take the leadership of the «revolution» into its hands. One still continues speaking of a «revolution» in Austria. As a matter of fact it was no revolution at all. At the very moment when the proletariat could have seized power without a struggle, the representatives of the social democracy placed themselves before the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and said: The time for taking over the power has not yet come. We have to enter into a coalition with the bourgeoisie. A presidium was formed consisting of the most clerical of clerics, a German nationalist and a social democrat. When this triumvirate took the power into its hands, the hour had come for the revolutionary proletariat of Austria to rise. Not even in St. Germain's times was reaction stronger than under the leadership of our representatives. Dr. Renner became Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Bauer, the former radical, took the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the army was entrusted to Comrade Deutsch, and all state offices were occupied by social

democrats together with representatives of the bourgeoisie.

In May, 1918, some sort of reconciliation came about between the left radicals and the various opposition groups; a common platform was found. It was then that the plan first arose to form a communist party in Austria. At that time we did not know that our Russian comrades would once call themselves communists, we did not know that our comrades in Germany, the Spartacists, would also adopt the name of communist party. As a small group we formed the idea and wished to carry it into life and start a new epoch in the revolutionary labour movement of Austria.

Those who began the struggle were but few. Many of our best people were in jail. All the force for the struggle had to be derived from a dozen persons. At that time we decided to start a periodical called the *Weekruf*, a Communist weekly.

The term «communists» for the first time was written on our flag. But the weekly was suppressed from its first to its last line. Its confiscation prevented us from carrying out our plan of distributing the *Weekruf* among the working masses celebrating the 1st of May. However, a new and more secure foundation for communism was laid when civil freedom was restored to a certain extent, owing to military collapse, and when our valiant comrades were released from jail after nine months imprisonment. November 3rd, 1918, we constituted ourselves as the «Communist Party of German Austria» with the *Weekruf* as our central press-organ.

November 12th, 1918, German Austria was to be publicly proclaimed a republic. We had decided that if the proletariat by its voting would declare itself for a socialist and not for a bourgeois republic, we would speak to the people in a communist sense. We now saw that the sentiments of the proletariat were thoroughly revolutionary. Innumerable red banners bore the inscription: «Forward with the socialist republic». Some of our comrades then ascended the tribune of Parliament and proclaimed the communist principles. Thereupon we chose several communists and wanted to enter the Parliament buildings in order to inform the members that the proletariat desired a socialist republic and not a bourgeois one. The door was slammed in our faces and firing began. Our comrades of the Red Guards battered at the door with the butt-ends of their rifles in order to gain entrance for us. They began the shooting that you all have heard of. The Red Guards and the militia replied to the shots that issued from the interior of the parliament buildings, and the celebration of the bourgeois republic, which had been so nicely arranged, ended with the temporary occupation of the Parliament halls. As a repressive measure the agrarian delegates demanded that the communist ringleaders be shot, otherwise the country would cease sending food-supplies to Vienna. The representatives of the social democrats, however, contended that this was going too far; yet the evil-doers

ought to be punished with all severity. And comrades Steinhardt (Gruber) and Friedländer were actually arrested. In a fortnight they were released, chiefly, thanks to the instigation of the militia-councils. A number of our Russian comrades, too, were put to trial and expelled from the country. The social democrats of the government not only gave their sanction to it, but were partly even initiators of this disciplinary punishment. The communist movement was condemned to die. The whole governmental power turned against us. The most embittered struggles we had to fight was with the social democrats of the government. In Vienna it was quite impossible for us to find premises. In some districts we attempted to hold meetings in our capacity of communist party. The premises were taken from us with the aim to paralyse us. In the provincial towns the government socialists enforced their power with still greater success. At Graz, the centre of the Styrian industry, we were unable to hold a meeting for four weeks. It was the social democrat Resel who organised terror against the communists there. Only after having protested openly in the streets and assembled in the squares we are to-day in a position to hold our meetings in any hall. Throughout the whole of Styria communist organisations are in existence now; the workmen come to us, discuss with us and join our platform. To-day no one dares any longer to hinder our meetings or check the development of our organisations.

Thus we have carried the day. But the social democratic party will forever stand condemned by history for having endeavoured to make the communist movement impossible.

In our propaganda we never said that the social democratic workmen were our enemies, we merely asserted that they had been led astray. What we are trying to do is to win the revolutionary elements of the working classes for our cause. And, as the facts prove, the left radicals everywhere join us.

On February 9th we were at last in a position to hold a review of the movement in the whole of German Austria, and while for the first conference on November 3rd, 1918, only a very small group of comrades had gathered, on February 9th, 1919, the whole of German Austria was represented by its organisations. We adopted a clear, sharply formulated communist platform, and with regard to the National Assembly we declared that we would have nothing to do with the election for it, as the National Assembly was an instrument for the falsification of the revolution. And just the elections were the climax of the social democrats' political life. We put up against it the idea of proletarian dictatorship, of self-government by the proletarian organisations and demanded the formation of workmen's and soldier's councils.

Thus matters stood when we left Austria. We have now four months of organisation work behind us. We set no great store by having a large number of members

enrolled, but we lay great stress on their incarnating the revolutionary will, the will to act, on the existence of a staff that would stand the test of a crucial issue.

Thus the communist party in German Austria stands steadfast and ready for the fray, persecuted by the government, hated by the social democrats. We are sorry to say that Fritz Adler is not in our ranks. When he killed Premier Stuerckh, and the workmen of Austria unanimously and energetically demanded his release, he was a revolutionary symbol to us. Fritz Adler left prison, but what happened? Those who had been devoted to him, who had been ready to sacrifice everything for him, were his friends no longer, for he had become their enemy. He placed himself at the disposal of the social democratic party, the very party that had stigmatised him and would have expelled him had he not been the son of his great father. He was put up as a candidate for the National Assembly and in confederation with the reactionary leaders of the workmen he was a bait for many toilers to vote for the parliament.

He declared himself against all attempts at splitting the labour movement, in particular did he oppose the activity of the communist party.

Our movement is a movement of the masses. Frequently enough we are told: «But you communists have no prominent men; the Russian communists have a Lenin and Trotzky, a Bukharin, who have long fought for the ideas of communism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. You have not a single world-known outstanding leader». Notwithstanding the working classes have treated us seriously, for they have seen that it is not the great name that makes the thing.

The workmen in German Austria have been told that destruction, pillage, sabotage were raging in Russia and that the time was not far off, when the whole bolshevik glory would be a heap of ashes. Yet we see that this glory has thoroughly established itself, that to-day the Russian communist party has started a new epoch in the history of the world. While formerly Moscow was the centre of reaction it is now the centre of the communist movement, and this can never be destroyed. That is why the workmen of German Austria cherish the movement of their Russian comrades, for they know, that should the régime of the communists in the East be overthrown there is no chance for the erection of a communist foundation in the West.

The congress of the Second International in Bern is the agony of a dying epoch, while the present congress is the first sitting of the revolutionary proletariat in order to organize action.

We therefore welcome you and hope that this sitting will inaugurate a new epoch. Eighteen days we were on our way from Vienna to Moscow. Like travelling journeymen we covered the whole distance, on tenders, engines, buffers, in cattle-trucks, on foot through the lines of the Ukrainian robber bands, at the risk of our lives, always with the longing idea before us: We want to go to Moscow, we must go to Moscow and nothing is to prevent us from going there.

We have actually reached our aim. We are among you, comrades. And our common aim, the Universal Federal Communist Republic we must and shall also reach in the not far distant future.

Report of Comrade Sadou.

(France).

Comrades.

I have to beg your pardon for speaking neither German, the language of International Socialism, as comrade Zinoviev called it yesterday, nor Russian, which is on the eve of becoming the language of International Communism. The only language I am more or less master of is French, which, for the present at least, has unfortunately to be defined as the language of revolutions, of the past.

Before I — at Comrade Lenin's request — set out to give you a picture of the political situation in France I wish to reply to some of our foreign comrades who want to know what I, as a French officer, think of the Red Army.

Comrades! Some weeks ago I had occasion to visit

the Northern front, whither the anxious gaze of the young bleeding Soviet Republic is directed.

With pleasure do I take advantage of this opportunity at the first International Communist Congress openly, before all the world, to express the deep feelings that agitate every true revolutionar with regard to the great Russian Communist Party, this force of the world revolution. The latter in spite of many noble efforts, has not yet gathered strength enough to build up so unquestionable a military force as the Red Army in whose ranks I have the honour of serving.

Many thanks do we owe the leaders of this army and, in the first place, to Comrade Trotzky, whose indefatigable energy coupled with high intelligence and true

genius have succeeded in lending new vitality to the Russian Army, totally decayed, though it was, already.

Scarcely six months have elapsed since the Allies in their disdain and fierce hatred of the Russian revolution declared that two Czech divisions supported by one single British-French detachment would suffice to overthrow the Soviet Government and conquer Russia. In the first weeks events seemed to warrant this opinion of the Allies, for the hostile attacks in the White Sea district and on the Volga developed with lightning speed. Threatened by such peril of death the revolutionary army organised with admirable quickness. And now even the Allies have to acknowledge that the «despicable» Red Army has grown to such an extent as to be able to hold its own against the hostile troops sent hither with the most criminal design of storming the bolshevik citadel. They have to admit its efficiency, its organisation, its military importance. Yes, they simply fear it. The Allies' fear of it is so great as to make them abstain from military intervention, which, they have, in a most impudent fashion, been threatening the Soviet Government with for over a year; they refrain from intervention, however, notwithstanding their burning desire, doubtless though masked by hypocritical manifestations, to throttle the Russian revolution as being a continuous revolutionary danger to the whole of Europe; and notwithstanding their desire to reinstate the political power of some tsar and to assist the Bourgeoisie in regaining economic domination.

The white guards of Kolitchak, Denikin, Krasnoff, Petlura, Mannenheim or Pildorowsky are to achieve in Russia what the Allies are unable to do with their own forces.

However, by dragging the Red Army into new struggles the Allies themselves are preparing new victories for it; for under Petrograd, as on the Volga and in the Ural, in the South as in the West, the Soviet Troops will emerge victorious.

That is why I propose to the Communist Conference to express its approval to the First International Army which has frustrated the punitive expedition planned by the Allies and has ensured the welfare of the Russian revolution, simultaneously furnishing the West European proletariat with the possibility to organise and prepare for the fight.

Comrades, eighteen months and a half have gone since I left France. I am, therefore, no eyewitness as to what is passing there now. However, for an active political fighter well acquainted with the psychology of his compatriots it suffices to peruse the French papers attentively in order to form a correct estimate of the political events and, first and foremost, of the rôle of two such prominent and popular organisations as the Socialist Party and the General Workers' Confederation. It is most interesting to follow the evolution of the feelings of the French working masses.

When I left Paris in September, 1917, that is to say,

a few weeks before the October Revolution, popular opinion in France regarded bolshevism as a hideous caricature of socialism. The bolshevik leaders were looked upon as criminals or lunatics. Their army was depicted as a horde consisting of some thousands of fanatics or criminals.

This was the general opinion in France. I am ashamed to say that nine-tenths of the majority as well as the minority socialists held the same view. As an excuse for ourselves we have to plead firstly, that we were not informed at all on the events in Russia, secondly, that our press of all shades of political opinion on the basis of invented facts and forged documents, tried to prove the depravity, cruelty and unscrupulousness of the bolsheviks.

The seizure of power by this «band of mutineers» made a terrible impression. The slander hiding the true aspect of Russian Communism became still worse after the conclusion of the Brest peace. At that time anti-bolshevik propaganda had reached its climax.

Nevertheless, some impartial reports penetrated to France after some time. Some of us began to understand that a party which had been able to remove so many obstacles could not possibly be based on terror only, and that, to all likelihood, it was recognized, loved and supported by the largest part of the Russian people.

The bourgeois press continues its vile persecution of the bolsheviks. The social patriotic papers ceased their abuses but instead started wild attacks against the leaders of bolshevism whose utopias, according to the opinion of the social patriots, threatened to destroy the Russian revolution and were bound to expose the world revolution. The papers of the socialist centre (of the Longuet group) showed less indignation and disdain. They even began to expose the intrigues of the bourgeois governments. They protested against armed intervention though basing their tactics not on a feeling of socialist solidarity, but on the right of nations to determine their own fate. These irrecusable, wavering and cowardly orthodox persons, continued to abstain from all judgment as to the socialist importance of the bolshevik programme. Surprised and alarmed at the radicalism of the tremendous social reconstruction carried through with firm conviction by the Soviet power, they followed this meteoric revolution without understanding its necessity nor appreciating its power. Yet they did not make so bold as to condemn it. Their embarrassment resembles that of every bourgeois placed before a new idea, for as socialists they have shown complete want of will power. I cannot pronounce very severe sentence against them, for, not long ago, I myself belonged to their ranks and possibly I would have remained as blind as I was, had I not passed the great school of Russian Communism here.

The first expression of sympathy, the first sign of brotherly union — if only of a partial one — took place at the national conference of the Socialist Party of France in October, 1918. In the middle of a speech by Longuet

on armed intervention, enthusiastic shouts of «Hurrah for the Soviet Republic!» were heard. These shouts came as a surprise to the leaders of both the majority and minority. Even Longuet, whom that conference elected leader of the Socialist Party, was moved to the heart. This was the first warning of the wise, though as yet unknown fighters, to their leaders.

Henceforth, those latter — to their honour be it said — began to support the revolution towards the left much more openly and this revolution has slowly but surely intensified these last six months. From that moment onwards it became clear that the radicalisation of the masses went at a much more rapid pace than that of their leaders. The immediate interest of the proletariat for the materialistic, the real, the well developed political sentiments, the thorough and healthy instinct of the French people, necessarily lead the proletariat to sensible conclusions; in other words, although lacking the scientific basis of socialism, the proletariat will yet arrive at conclusions in the spirit of communism. We have no exact data at our disposal, yet we have reason to believe that this natural tendency is to a certain extent influenced by syndicalism. I do not wish to speak here of the official leaders of the General Workmen's Confederation, of Jouhaux, who has started a regular flirt with the war supporting government, or of Merrheim, whose revolutionary activity has greatly declined. I much prefer speaking of the fighters of syndicalism. They are much less known, of course, but are also less contaminated by the process of decay, they have been spared from the spirit of the numberless parliamentary commissions and negotiations with representatives of the government, they have still kept the ardent spirit of syndicalism of yore. Although but poorly informed on bolshevik Communism these workers yet seem to have grasped its force and vitality by mere instinct. They are mostly persons standing in the back rows of public life, sometimes of no prominent educational standard, yet possessing strong will power, and they will doubtlessly be in the first ranks when the course of history will demand of the French people to begin a revolution that will lead it to power.

And indeed, comrades, at present I see no revolutionary leaders of the French Socialist Party. There are mostly persons at its head who, as officials, have no inner tie with the wide masses of the population, persons who have become trivial and slow of thought, owing to bourgeois parliamentarism. The demoralising influence of the chamber with its polite debates on the one hand and its secret machinations on the other is quite peculiar and tremendous. Such good comrades as Cachin, Lafont and even Renaudel — I surely surprise you by naming him, too — fall victims to opportunism after having worked in the Chamber for a few months only. Many of them will surely change their minds — would that it were not too late — and with their own hands kindle the flames of revolution. Many will probably join the revolution

within 24 hours after its outbreak, but these will not be able to foresee its advent even 24 hours before, since their judgment lacks insight and their actions courage and decisiveness. I cannot say for sure whether they will try to prevent the outbreak of the revolution or to forcibly stem its tide; I cannot even assert that such is their intention; nor do I wish it to be the case, for these elements could prove very valuable workers if carried on by the proletariat and placed under its control.

Thus we see that the French revolution is not in a position to supply its own Lenin nor its own Trotsky. Nature is not too generous in furnishing such titans. And, after all, two such mighty leaders of the world revolution are enough for the proletariat to attain to power. These leaders are fully equal to their mighty tasks. They have shown us the way, they will also smooth it for us. And should the French revolution ever be in need of the Russian leaders, you will spare them to us for a few weeks, will you not, comrades? At present we French are lacking not only a communist commander-in-chief, but also the prominent revolutionary generals that Russia has so many of and who by their very characteristics are true Russian phenomena, outgrowth of the nature of the country, of its crass contrasts of climate and its immense areas, true Russian phenomena whose mighty will have grown strong like rock in the Tzarist prisons and in the long years of exile, phenomena ready for all possible sufferings and sacrifices.

The leaders of the French left socialists, Longuet and his friends, making compensation to reformism and opportunism as they do, are not capable of revolutionary heroism. By no means do I wish to say by it that they will show no valour when the hour will come, but they will not have the necessary courage to hasten on this hour.

The bolshevik leaders are what they are in the highest sense of the word. They have known how to lead the people to revolution and to the path mapped out by history. They are to the working masses what a lighthouse is to the mariner, showing him the way by its lights. I am afraid our French leaders will prove mere disciples of the Russians.

I suppose the French proletariat will take the first step by itself, will begin its great struggle all alone. We place all our hopes on the proletariat. Long enough has it rested on the laurels of its glorious ancestors, now it begins to awaken. It knows the grand future to which it is predestined. Its unquenchable, yet strong hands, courageously reach out for power. The shout that was heard at the October Conference has been resounding all over France, for the last six months.

Lately most of the public meetings close with the new watchwords: «Long live Lenin!» «Hurrah for Trotsky!» «Hail to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!» «Long live the Soviets!» These calls of necessity jar upon the ears of those in power and with indignation do the bourgeois papers record them. Unfortunately the lack of capable leaders is greatly felt; there is no united

organisation and the movement that flares up here and there is crushed but too easily by rude force.

Yet, taking it all in all, the course of events is favourable to the revolution. The collapse of the capitalist order of things, the total incapacity of this régime to solve questions of either peace or war, its senseless desire to come to mere illusory compromises, the hatred which is all it has to spare for the masses, only tend to increase the wrath and exasperation of the population. The antiquated idea of coming to an understanding with the bourgeoisie appears more and more untenable to the workmen. The social patriots, those adherents of the impossible coalition, have long been rejected by the working masses with disdain. Nor can any one be satisfied with the immature decisions of the leaders of the centre socialists whose prolixity fails to inspire any confidence whatever.

At least some light is thrown on the nature of the Russian events. The honest and sincere tactics of the bolshevik party correspond much more to the temperament of the Frenchman than do the hazy and dull formulæ of the first German revolution.

Yes, Comrades, I am certain that the programme of the Russian Communist Party — with a few alterations adapted to French conditions, in particular as regards the agrarian question, will be welcomed by the French proletariat in the nearest future.

And there is only one way leading to it—propaganda and once again propaganda. There is splendid soil for agitation. The inexcusable postponement of demobilisation, the imperialistic efforts of capitalist oligarchy in whose hands the power over the whole republic is concentrated, the harsh demeanour of the bourgeoisie towards the Russian and German revolutions, the decay of the state, the economic chaos, the unemployment crisis, the food supply difficulties — all these contribute towards the collapse of the régime of exploitation.

When will the movement for liberation begin? Well,

who can foretell the trend of events? There may be all kinds of obstacles to keep back the inevitable.

Even before the capitalists of the Entente organised their mutual aid, what they style 'league of nations', the French ruling classes knew how to protect themselves by special military forces, by coloured and black troops, by Senegalese and Indians quartered in all the industrial centres and ready to go against the working masses.

Last but not least, the government threatens the future revolution with an economic blockade which is to expose the population of France to starvation by stopping the import of American grain to France.

These problems will, of course, have to be well thought out. For it is a tremendous responsibility that we undertake.

And yet, as soon as demobilisation will bring back to France several million citizens and will call forth unemployment and food crisis, I am sure, a proletarian movement will start that will doubtlessly adopt the Soviet form and join the communist party.

Well then, let us go on with our work and await the sacred hour when the holy union of the German, French and Russian revolutions will make the social world revolution invincible. And herewith I close.

Permit me, comrades, to read to you the declarations of two fighters of the ranks of the left socialists, Verfeuil and Lqriot, that clearly illustrate the psychology of the elements truly fit for life, and so valuable for the French Socialist Party. (These declarations have been published in No 1 of the Communist International, Ed.).

Comrades, concluding my speech, I repeat once more: scarcely six months ago the majority of the French Socialist Party cried: 'Down with the bolsheviks!' Now they shout: 'Long live the Soviet Republic!' Official and precautionary party organs try to investigate the possibility of proletarian dictatorship in France. Do these facts require any further comment? And are we not fully entitled to hope that we will not have to wait long now?

Report of Comrade Trótzky.

(Russia).

Comrade Albert has said that the Red Army furnished an ample subject for discussion in Germany, and if I understand him aright, the fear of an invasion of Eastern Prussia by the Red Army even disturbs the slumbers of Messrs. Ebert & Scheidemann. Comrade Albert may set the minds of the present rulers of Germany at rest. Fortunately or unfortunately, that is purely a matter of point of view, things have not gone so far as that. In any case, we are in a much better position to meet a possible invasion of our country, than we were at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace. This is quite certain. As far as the development

of the Soviet Government and of the Red Army is concerned, we were, so to speak, still in our long clothes. At that time the Red Army was truly called the Red Guard, but that nomenclature has long ceased to exist. The Red Guard was the name given to the first detachments of irregulars, the first improvised revolutionary groups of workmen who, impelled by the impetus of the revolution, spread proletarian revolution from Moscow and Petrograd over the whole territory of Russia. This period lasted till the first encounter of the Red Guard with regular German regiments and then it became revealed very clearly that

these improvised groups were incapable of affording the revolutionary Socialist republic any real protection, when the work on hand was not only to defeat Russian counter-revolutionaries, but to drive out a well-disciplined army. From this point the opinion of the workmen concerning the army underwent a sudden change, and the methods of organisation were radically reformed. Under the pressure of the situation we proceeded to the formation of a healthy army, organised on the basis of military science. In our programme it is pointed out as „National Militia“. To speak of a militia, this demand of political democracy, in a country ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible, for the army is closely connected with the character of the ruling power. War, as old Clausewitz said, is but the continuation of politics, only by other means. The army is the instrument of war and must correspond to the politics of the day. The government is proletarian, and the army must in its social composition correspond to this fact. We took a census of the composition of our army. In May 1918, we passed from the volunteer army, the Red Guard, to a conscript army, but admit into it only proletarians, and peasants not exploiting the labour of others. The impossibility of speaking seriously of a militia in Russia is all the more obvious if we take into account, that we have several hostile class armies on the territory of the former Russian Empire. We have a monarchistic army led by Cossack officers and consisting of bourgeois elements and wealthy Cossack peasants, in the Don region. Then we had the army of the Constituent Assembly in the Volga and Ural region. The latter, the so-called „peoples army“, it was in fact called, but this army very quickly went to pieces and the honourable members of the Constituent had to leave the Volga region and seek—very much against their will—the hospitality of our Soviet republic. Admiral Koltchak simply arrested the government of the Constituent Assembly and the „peoples army“ was turned into a monarchistic army. We thus see, that in a country where civil war is being carried on, an army can be built up only on a class basis. This is what we have done, with very good results.

The question of the commanding staff created grave difficulties for us. It goes without saying, that our first care was to train red officers from among the workmen and the more developed peasants. This work we began from the very outset, and here, at the doors of this very hall you may see many a red cadet, who is soon to join the army as red officer. Of these we have a very considerable number. I do not wish to quote figures, as military secrets are military secrets. The figure, I repeat, is fairly high, but we could not wait for the red cadets to blossom into red generals, as the enemy did not give us the necessary breathing space, and we were forced to take recourse to the old commanding staff, and find the men we could use from among them. In this we succeeded also. Of course we did not choose our officers from among the brilliant favourites of the imperial court, but found perfectly competent men in simpler circles, who ably help us now to fight their former

time messmates. On the one side the best and most honest elements of the old body of commanders, flanked by capable communists as commissaries, and on the other side the best elements from among the soldiers, workmen and peasants for the subaltern commands; this is how we composed our commanding staff.

Our Soviet republic has been forced to wage war from the very first moment of its existence to the present day. Our front extends over eight thousand kilometres; in the North and South, in the West and East, we are attacked, weapon in hand, and we must be on our defence. Kautsky even accused us of having fostered militarism. But it seems to me, that if we want to keep power in the hands of the workers, we must defend ourselves.

If we are to defend ourselves, we must teach the workers to use the weapons they forge. We began with disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the workers. If this is militarism, so be it.—we have created our own socialist militarism, and we will keep to it.

Our military situation last August was very grave: we were not only surrounded, but the noose was drawn pretty tight round Moscow itself. From that time on we loosened that noose more and more and in the last six months the Red Army conquered more than 700,000 square kilometres of territory with a population of 42,000,000, 16 governments with sixteen large towns, the workers of which took and take active part in our struggle. Even to-day if you draw a straight line on the map from Moscow in any direction, on every front you will find the Russian peasant, the Russian workman standing in this cold night, his rifle in his hand, guarding the frontier of the Socialist Republic. And I can assure you that the worker-communist who forms the nucleus of this army, feel themselves to be not only the guardians of the Russian socialist republic, but the Red Army of the Third International. And to-day we are offered the possibility of being the hosts of this socialist conference, and thus thank our West-European brothers for their many years of friendship, we in turn owe all this to the efforts and sacrifices of the Red Army, in which our best comrades of the communist worker must work as ordinary soldiers, red officers or commissaries, that is, immediate representatives of our party, of Soviet power, who give the tone, politic and moral, in every regiment, in every division—in other words, who by their example show our red soldiers how to fight and die for socialism. And these are not idle words for our comrades: they are followed by action: in this struggle we have lost hundreds, nay, thousands of our best socialist workers. I presume, that they died not only for our Soviet Republic, but for the Third International as well.

And even if at present we have no intention of attacking Eastern Prussia—we should on the contrary, be extremely pleased if Messrs. Ebert & Scheidemann left us in peace—one thing is certain: if the home strikes and our Western brothers call upon us for help, we shall answer: „we are here, we have learnt to use arms, we are ready to fight and die for the world revolution“!

Report of Comrade Platten.

(Switzerland).

Dear Comrades:

Switzerland is but a small country with a modest movement. Her reporter is not in a position to give as extensive a delineation of struggles as has been furnished by the reports of other countries. Yet we must say that we have tried to do what our solidarity with our Russian comrades demanded from us. We had been spared the trials of the war, we could register better conditions of life and our labour movement took a course different from that of the other countries. However, the political reaction of the war had its effect on Switzerland, too.

Our party movement from the very first declared its adherence to Zimmerwald. I will only touch briefly upon the splits that took place, and I wish to point out that the struggle for Zimmerwald had knocked off the extreme nationalist elements, so that an internationalist party remained which developed vigorously. Yet in spite of the inner splitting it was impossible to eject all the elements leaning towards the right. All the comrades remained in the party because unity had to be preserved.

Throwing a glance upon the development of the party, it suffices to say that already while discussing the question of sending delegates to the Zimmerwald conference it became apparent that even within this cleansed party not only two, but as many as three, currents existed. The right elements, like Studer, Greulich, Müller were not included, but Comrade Maïne was, although after exhibiting a strong inclination towards the right, he later on represented the right wing. The later centre and the left party wing participated, and each voted differently on all questions. I joined the Zimmerwald left.

Grimm voted against the left, giving for this reason that in his capacity as president he was forced to keep up the connection between the currents by means of a neutral attitude. Later on it became apparent that his attitude was due to deeper political reasons.

The struggle that had to be carried on within the party after Zimmerwald, was conducted by the left together with the centre of the party. The Grutlians separated themselves, thus pointing out the way the party was to take. A rapid development towards the left took place, and if we want to give a characteristic of ourselves we have to say that all the resolutions adopted at the party conferences provided us to belong to the left wing at the International and to be represented here with full right. However, the structure of the country leads to a strong clash between theory and practice.

Comrade Grimm's mission to Russia has not failed to politically influence the Swiss party movement. When it was learned by telegram of his attitude in Petersburg,

the far-seeing, and in the first place, the left elements at Zürich recognized at once that Grimm's attitude towards and position in the International and the Swiss party could no longer remain the same. At the time many of our comrades still hoped it had been a personal blunder of his. I upheld the view that we ought to publicly censure his policy, but I found no support among my comrades. Grimm returned and first developed a sham-radicalism. However, he soon evoked the natural consequences and we had to fight hard with him. At the next party conference the struggle will be still more acute for then the party will definitely define its position. Whether or not a splitting will take place I can not yet say.

The trade-union movement in Switzerland has the same defects as in Germany. A staff of secretaries ruled the movement and the danger existed of it becoming permanently ossified. The hardships resulting from the increase of food prices forced the workmen to begin the struggle, which they did without sanction from the central trade union's committee. The trade unions willy nilly had to undertake the leadership. The workmen of Switzerland have speedily recognized that the only way to improve their material position was to ignore the trade union statutes and start the fight not under the leadership of the old union but with leaders according to their own choice. A workers' congress and a workers' council were formed where the revolutionary spirit was displayed just as in the Russian Soviets at the beginning of the Russian revolution. The task of the workmen's council was to take the whole power into its hands. The workmen's congress took place in spite of the opposition of the trade unions, and its very first task was to examine the weapons of struggle necessary for a mass strike. The later fights were prepared for and contrary to the wish of the council of that congress the great struggle broke out that has brought the Swiss workmen face to face with a mighty task. The last rising has drawn over 400,000 workmen into the struggle.

Owing to the timorous policy of the Central, again Zürich had to take the lead. Only two days after the outbreak of the strike at Zürich the Central, in order to reassert its fading prestige, issued the slogan for a general strike, and, thanks to this, it was possible to extend the struggle over the whole country. The Swiss proletariat believed itself able to carry on the struggle without weapons by mere cessation of work, and perseverance. The struggle lasted five days, and on the fifth day, the Central, much to the dismay of the workers, ordered the strike to cease. Here again was treachery to the cause of the workmen. The committee, consisting partly of officials, proved unequal to the occasion. As a reason

for cutting short the struggle they contended that the continuation of the strike would bring about a bloody civil war. Heated discussions ensued. The defeat was followed by lockouts; the struggle was lost.

However, this struggle, demanding the greatest courage of the workmen—for the military forces were well armed and about 40,000 men were called out—gave a clear insight into the future procedure of struggle. When the fight was at an end and the position was being discussed, the workmen realized that in the future the struggle could not take the same form, but would have to be bloody uprisings.

Terrible reaction set in after the defeat. Almost all the leading comrades were brought up for trial and are now awaiting the verdict. Hundreds of railway men will also be tried by the military authorities for having refused to work.

A further important corollary of the above was the expulsion of the Russian Mission from Switzerland. I can say that the rumours alone about the expulsion of the Russian Mission from the country have contributed greatly towards fanning the discontent of the workers. Later on, however, the struggle became connected with various demands. We declared that we had started the fight because measures were going to be taken against the Soviet Government that we considered a provocation. We felt the expulsion of the Russian Mission the more so, for it had done us great service in transmitting information from Russia contradicting the false rumours that were being spread. We have further reason to regret the expulsion of the Russian Mission, since it has become much more difficult for us now to spread the fine revolutionary literature that Russia possesses. The Mission had furnished us with many works of Lenin and Trotsky, which not only influenced the revolutionary spirit of the proletarian masses but also gave a deep insight into the whole Russian movement and into all the stages of proletarian dictatorship.

When we had somewhat recovered from the shock at the expulsion of the Russian Mission caused us, we began to print more works and to distribute the splendid material as best possible. I am in a position to say that today our own propaganda has greatly increased. By means of leaflets, pamphlets, meetings, we are trying to revolutionize the proletariat and to set our aims clearly before them. In particular I have to mention one group in which we were at variance on certain questions.

To this group we owe the work of enlightening the army. We will have to think seriously of attracting the forces of this group to conjoint work. This will be possible when the party will have clearly defined its position.

One more important point I have to mention. We must beware of losing the press, this mighty weapon of struggle. We have nothing to fear if we can ensure the press, carefully and unconditionally.

The party conference preceding the workmen's congress was a surprise conference. I played a rôle there in so far as my position of secretary to the party enabled me to throw my mandate into the balance. At this conference the right wing made a rush. With the help of the centre they succeeded in transferring the seat of the party from Zürich to Bern. I declared that I had to oppose any attempt at smuggling the management of the party affairs from the hands of the radicals at Zürich into those of the Bern comrades. Bern, as seat of the party offices, was equivalent to adopting the policy of the centre. At this conference Comrade Grimm descended to have himself elected on the management board. He was not elected president, but the old Zimmerwald chairman was ready to work under the presidency of a social patriot. And, notwithstanding this, how proudly did that very same Zimmerwaldian chairman declare in Parliament: «I am no bolshevik, not even a Zimmerwaldian».

The comrades that helped these crass opportunists to take the presidential seat have done a base deed towards our wing and have contributed towards discrediting themselves in the eyes of the masses. The transference of the seat of the party had not the results expected, since the following party conference disavowed the president and, moreover, proved that two-thirds of our comrades supported the extreme left.

The question of sending delegates to the international social patriotic conference of Bern was decided in the following manner: 193 against 154 voted for a resolution proposed by myself opposing representation at the Bern conference, the latter being a conference of treason to the international proletariat. Our solidarity with our Russian party comrades was given expression to. All the members of the centre and the right wing voted against us. Nevertheless, when the vote was finally taken we could still register a majority, and this decision has created great excitement in a country where the social patriots were accustomed to rule their conferences.

Report of Comrade A. Rudniansky. (Hungary).

Owing to the fact that the Hungarian delegates of the Communist Party were detained en route and, in consequence of this, were unable to take part in the Conference, the present report upon the development of the Communist movement in Hungary is based on communications which were received from Hungary by the local bureau of the Party up to the 15th of February, this year.

At the end of November, the Communist Party of Hungary, which was composed of Communists who had returned from Russia, the extreme "left", and a small group of left-radical intellectuals, decided to resign from the Social-Democratic Party. The first workers upon whom the Communists relied were iron and other metal workers. At the moment when the Communist Party was founded the general position was favorable for a revolutionary proletarian movement.

On the 16th of November a Republic was proclaimed in Hungary, but the power itself remained in the hands of the Government, which received its sanction from the Archduke Josef. The difference consisted only in that the Minister-president, Count Karolyi, and his supporters, called themselves the "People's Government" and submitted themselves to the National Council. (The latter undertook all the functions that had formerly been fulfilled by Parliament.) This National Council consisted of Independents, radicals and social-democrats, and intended to function until the elections to the Legislative National Assembly took place.

But it was not difficult to foresee a further development of the revolution right from the very first weeks. The peasants waited for the sharing out of the land by the new "People's Government", the proletariat hoped that it would be freed from exploitation, whilst those of the soldiers who had returned home demanded work and compensation for their sufferings. The Government, however, was unable to carry out all these demands, and the discontent of the masses continued to grow.

About this time, Communists who returned from Russia began to set about active work. The attitude towards the Communist movement on the part of the Social-democratic Party was at first one of disdain, as it considered the former quite unimportant. It soon became convinced, however, that the interests of the masses were joined with those of the Communists and not with those of the social-democrats.

When the Communists explained to the Proletariat that

social-democrats, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, were not in a position to bring about a radical change, — pointed out from day to day that "revolutionary" social-democracy was forced to defend the rights of private property and to counteract the interests of the workers, — then there was but one argument left for the Social-democratic Party to make use of: it affirmed that the unity of the Hungarian proletariat would come to an end if the Communists retained a firm footing in Hungary. This kind of counter-agitation did not enjoy any particular success, but gave the social-democrats the possibility, in agreement with certain trade union organisations, to persecute the communist movement in the worst possible manner.

The Communist movement found its most favourable ground amongst town workers. Many factory organisations joined it as a whole. A strong Communist fermentation was also to be noticed amongst the soldiers, particularly amongst special parts of them.

The Communist movement amongst the peasantry developed in a quite peculiar manner: it was found that Communist organisations arose quite independently amongst the village poor. Usually, these kinds of organisations were formed from the prisoners who returned home to the villages from Russia, after the proclamation of the social-democratic agrarian reform. These peasants offered the Communist Party their aid. Analogical phenomena were also to be observed in the Soviets. In general, however, the Soviet movement in Hungary is weak. Owing to the fact that the town proletariat is placed under the influence of both the social-democrats and the Communists, a few soviets of workers deputies which have been formed under the leadership of the social-democrats are almost entirely in their hands, and are of use to the Communists only as an arena of struggle.

This struggle has already come to an end in the soviets of Soldiers Deputies, in some soviets the Communists already form the majority. The peasant soviets, however, which are certainly neither very powerful nor very numerous, are entirely Communist.

Thanks to this reinforcement and development of the Communist Party, as well as to the growing influence of the Communists in the Soviets, we are already able to predict that in Hungary also a decisive rôle will be played by Communism.

Report of Comrade O. Grimlund. (Sweden).

The Swedish Left Socialist Party was formed about two years ago with the cooperation and help of the whole movement of youths, as a result of the old social democratic party under Branting's leadership, deviating more and more from socialism. Also, the leaders of the party and the various local party boards were actually terrorising the old party and the minority, brutally suppressing all opposition, all defence of the party programme, the party tactics. The new party directly joined the organisation that had been

gathering the revolutionary organisations and minorities round its flag during the war and that had remained true to the International, i. e., the Zimmerwald commission (the Swedish party always having belonged to its left wing). The standpoint of the party was a clearly revolutionary one. It always, in daily papers and pamphlets, led a relentless war against social patriotism in general and its Swedish adherents in particular. The propaganda work of the party was directed primarily towards rousing the working

masses into a class struggle and revolutionary action. Nor has this propaganda proved futile. The membership grows from month to month, the party already counts two hundred branches, the whole youth's organisation stands on the revolutionary platform of the party. Numerous professional organisations, social patriotic and reactionary until lately, are now beginning to join our ranks.

When the party was formed all it had at its disposal was one periodical appearing three times a week. Now its chief organ, the "Politiken", appears daily in eight pages and is widely spread among the workmen. Further, we have started as many as twelve papers in the provinces, three appearing daily, the rest three times a week. The youths' organisations have their own widely spread paper, the "Stormklockan". Since the Russian November revolution the propaganda and organising branches of the party have been put to a hard test. Fully conscious as the Party was of its self-evident duty as a class party, it declared its solidarity with the Russian revolution from the very first moment. All our papers, in particular the "Politiken", day in day out carried on a hard struggle against the campaign of lies and libel consciously and systematically led by the centres of counter-revolution in Stockholm and Helsingfors. The organ most ready to serve the struggle against the revolution is Branting's "Social-Demokraten". It was thus our duty to clearly point out to the workmen the sharp difference between the social patriotic standpoint and our own. We illustrated our theoretic work by means of the practical work of our Russian comrades and vice versa; we proved the relationship between the Swedish social patriots, the Russian mensheviks and the German Scheidemanns by means of numerous examples. Notwithstanding the recency of its organisation and its numerical weakness our party has

done its best to instil a revolutionary spirit in our masses and to win over the latter to the side of revolution. The tragic end of the Finnish revolution also offered us an opportunity for active propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the social patriots.

In view of the necessity to unite all revolutionary forces, the party has combined itself with the radical proletarian organisations, as, e.g., the syndicalists and the anti-parliamentarian Young Socialists, as well as with the Workmen's and Soldiers' Union, an organisation that externally had for its aim the fraternization of the workmen and soldiers. Conjointly with the above organisations the party issued watch-words and proclamations, carried on propaganda and did the necessary preparatory organisation work.

However, there are elements in the party whose views do not coincide with those of the party. They are elements that joined us because they were dissatisfied with the old party. But they have no firm point of view, as clearly evidenced by the fact that through their spokesman Lindhagen they oppose proletarian dictatorship, preaching "humanity" and "pacifism". Every party member well understands that the next party conference must make short work of the spreading of such phantastic bourgeois ideas.

With great pleasure did our party board welcome the invitation to joint proclamation of the Third International, which forms the logical development of the Zimmerwald movement. As regards the chief ideas of the invitation, our party of course fully agrees to them; it is only to some individual practical points that the members of our party board object. I have been instructed to vote for the formation of the Third International, though formally join it we can, of course, only after the next party conference.

Report of Comrade Sirola

(Finland).

Comrades:

A year has passed since the Finnish Proletariat fought out its life and death struggle with the butcher bands of the bourgeoisie. Manly it rose to defend its liberty and life and to beat the reactionary attack of the white guards. Inadequately prepared as it was from a political and military point of view, yet it held its own at the fronts for three months, simultaneously achieving a considerable amount of social and economic organisation work in the rear. This first revolution of the Finnish proletariat was suppressed. The self-sacrifice and courage of our comrades and the invaluable help of our Russian brethren were insufficient to ward off the onslaught of the international hordes of white guards led by Finnish, Swedish, German and Russian officers. At the end of April, Germany having cast its regular troops into the balance as a decisive factor, the whites succeeded in frustrating the planned evacuation into Russia of the best living forces of the revolution.

The barbarian vindictiveness of the white blood-hounds is known all over the world. For months the butchers raged against the proletariat, against men, women and children. Along with Finnish proletarians hundreds of Russian comrades and red-guard were shot. According to reports recently published in Finnish papers, the total number of

the murdered exceeds 13,000, and additional notices appear continuously, stating that 100 to 300 and more proletarians have been executed in this or that parish. To these victims we have to add those 15,000 who perished of starvation, disease and misery in the concentration camps.

These bloody figures, that are by no means overestimated, ought to serve as a warning to all workmen, who dream of peaceful cooperation with the bourgeoisie on the basis of democracy. We hope the comrades of the Third International will impress upon the workmen of their own countries the experiences of the Finnish proletariat. In brief, these experiences teach us that the proletariat should define its position towards the principles of socialism as soon as possible and should separate without delay from all elements and groups that either have already proved themselves traitors to the working man or leave him in the lurch at the crucial moment. Democracy or dictatorship, this question must be put decisively; the actual revolutionary situation is to be clearly defined. The proletariat should not furnish the enemy an opportunity for taking the initiative. At an hour chosen by itself as best possible it is to lead the attack and destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, the state machine.

For too long a time we too were imbued with the ideal-

ogy of a "united" worker's movement. It was only after the revolution that separation became unavoidable. The lines were sharply drawn. In Finland the extreme right wing of the old social democracy was granted "freedom" of organisation and press with the expressed aim of "calming" the workmen. These traitors did their best to quench the Finnish proletariat the last year of the revolution and propagate for a peaceable parliamentary labour movement of trade unions and co-operative organisations. In certain bourgeois circles they obtained a hearing and at the political elections, within three days, they will obtain a number of votes. But the masses, tortured with imprisonment, starvation and misery, having the white terror fresh in their memories and the living example of proletarian dictatorship in Russia before their eyes, remain strangers to these warnings of the serfs to the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary proletariat of Finland has nothing in common with the friends of the Scheidemanns and Brantings that are now at Bern fraternizing with all social traitors of the world, the Finnish proletariat is no redder than ever before. Even the bourgeois papers are forced to acknowledge it, and we have many examples of the Finnish proletariat heartily welcoming the communist party.

The Finnish communist party was organised at the end of August at the Moscow congress by emigrants living there in exile. We, however, live in exile of quite a new type, in a socialist country. We, who had been radicals or left radicals have become communists on the basis of our revolutionary experiences, on the basis of our acquaintance with the theoretic work of our Russian comrades and in particular, of the living example of communist organisation work here on Russian ground. In an open letter addressed by our party to Comrade Lenin we have laid down our confession of faith and have minutely reported on our experiences.

Originating from Petrograd, where our central committee is working, we have carried on propaganda among the Finnish town and agricultural labourers living in Russia. About 25 communist organisations have been founded, over 40 pamphlets have been published, one daily paper and two periodicals, a Finnish and a Swedish, have been started in Russia. Harmonious work with our Russian comrades in the party in Soviet institutions, on economic and cultural grounds has been organised.

A matter of very great importance is, of course, the military preparation. Our military organisation is entrusted with the training of the Finnish soldiers into red guards. About 15 translations of military works are ready; courses for the training of over 200 young men for commandship are being organized. In Finland a considerable number of secret communist organisations are active in spreading

literature and newspapers, carrying on propaganda and, notwithstanding imprisonment, torture and death, preparing for the future rising. At the conference which took place at the end of January, representatives from Finland participating, several theses were adopted on the nearest tasks of the revolution in Finland.

We are deeply convinced that we will soon join our true comrades in Finland in their struggle. Our conviction is based not only on our ardent desire, but on an analysis of the Finnish situation. The influence of imperialistic, overgrown decaying capitalism is setting in on Little Finland, too. The Finnish bourgeoisie has created its little world after that pattern. Decay and demoralisation have set in everywhere. Speculation and fraud are flourishing, death from starvation is becoming more and more frequent. The state budget has risen from 100 millions to a figure by far exceeding 1 milliard; taxes and national debt have increased accordingly. Bribery is rampant, civilisation has become prostituted. The army, with its glittering misery of officerdom and the dictatorial court, has come to life. Reaction is spreading. Examples of the general decay are furnished by the separatism of the Swedish speaking population of the Åland isles and in other places, while the patriots dream the dreams of conquerors. As a matter of course, the picture is completed by the gendarmery, by violence exercised by the bourgeois guards, by the persecution of revolutionaries, house searches en masse, arrests, tortures after the manner of the Spanish Inquisition, the shooting down of prisoners suspected of attempts at flight, and so on.

Such a system cannot last long. Only the right moment is wanting which would make the revolutionary situation explode. And this moment will come soon in connection with the development of the international situation. After the thorough fiasco of its German adventures the Finnish bourgeoisie is, of course, on the side of the Allies and the latter expects from its new serf services in the struggle of the world imperialism against bolshevism. The expeditions to Estonia and the organisation of the Russian counter-revolutionary armed troops in Finland, who are also prepared to fight the independence of Finland is witness to it. Obviously this adventure must end in failure. This will be the signal for the struggle to begin and this time it will lead to the establishment of an iron dictatorship of the proletariat after the practical example of our true, courageous forerunners, the Russian proletariat. We base our hopes on the solidarity of the world proletariat, next to the Soviet Republic of Russia. The Finnish proletariat too will fight under the star of the third communist international, the world-wide league of proletarian Soviet Republics.

REPORTS AND CHRONICLE

ENGLAND.

Civil War in Ireland.

The white terror reigns in Ireland. The whole land is under martial law. «We need no less than a quarter of a million soldiers to keep order in Ireland», writes the *Times*. Almost all the Sinn-Fein leaders have been arrested. Court-martials are rampant, and the prisons full.

In the middle of April, there was unrest in Limerick, which general Shaw head of the punitive expedition, declared to be in a state of siege. The town was surrounded by troops: no one was allowed to come or go. Armed automobiles, armed trains, aeroplanes, etc. were sent from London, and were placed at the disposal of general Shaw.

«All Ireland», writes the correspondent of the *Daily News*, «is transformed into a military camp. Limerick resembles a besieged town. It is a small town situated on the river Shannon. The bridges are guarded by soldiers, who have orders to allow no one across... The municipalities have been dismissed, and the fate of the town with its 38 thousand inhabitants is in the hands of the military».

The workers of Limerick answered the state of siege with a general strike... «Limerick is as if it were dead», writes the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. It seems as if it were Sunday all the time. All the shops are closed with the exception of those trading in articles of primary necessity, and these are only opened for a few hours a day... A strange sort of dual-authority has been established. The whole power is concentrated in the hands of the military command, but on the other hand, the strike committee regulates internal orders. The strike committee has taken over the distribution of food, the fight against profiteering, public safety, etc. During the strike, Limerick was supplied with food by the trade unions and workers organisations of the neighbouring towns. The strike committee established public stores, and issued «strike money», a kind of exchange paper money which it distributed to the population. On this paper money from one to ten shillings, there is an inscription of: «General strike against English militarism. Limerick, 1919». Finally, the strike committee decided to organise a Soviet of Workers Deputies and to place the whole power in its hands. For a period of ten days, a soviet authority existed in the besieged town of Limerick.

The *Manchester Guardian* of April 24th writes: «It is clear that the soviet will be broken up. The soviet acted very absurdly sometimes, but you must give it its due; working under such difficulties, it was able to manage the town and become masters of the situation. During the eleven days of the soviet régime, there was not one case of violence, robbery, etc., in the town. Economic forces (one does not exactly know which—editor) broke up the soviet. His energetic protest against English militarism has left no traces, has not been in vain. The flame of protest will burn in Limerick and other Irish towns for a long time to come».

Thus writes a bourgeois liberal newspaper!

The workers of Cork followed the example of their Limerick comrades, and on April 16th declared a general strike.

On April 16th there was also a conference of Irish trade unions to discuss the question of a general strike for the whole of Ireland. On April 24th, the conference came to the decision not to declare the strike for the present, but to call together immediately a conference of trade unions and workers' organisations. This took place at the beginning of May, but we are still without news of its decision.

Soldiers' Riot.

On April 16th, in the Liverpool High Court, the trial was opened of the instigators of the soldiers' riot which took place in the Kibbel camp, near Liverpool, at the beginning of March. The following details of the riot were revealed at the trial:

On March 5th, a soldiers meeting was held in the camp. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, the meeting bore a most excited and revolutionary character. The soldiers, among whom the majority were Canadians, demanded immediate demobilisation. One of the witnesses at the trial, giving evidence, said: «The orators at the meeting called for the extermination of the officers. The chief incitor, Sergeant George Lorett, waved a red flag, and urged the soldiers to stop at nothing».

The meeting had hardly dispersed when a cavalry division arrived from Liverpool. The rioters met it with a hurricane of stones. The cavalry division was given the order to fire. The rioters took up their position in the surrounding ditches. «It was real trench warfare, a real cavalry attack», declared another witness at the trial. Two of the leaders of the riot were killed after the first charge. The rioters were called on to surrender,

but this they answered by a volley. «And George Lorette stood all the time waving a red flag».

The most loyal troops were sent to the assistance of the cavalry division. The rioters rushed out of the ditches and made a counter-attack. «George Lorette was at the head with the red flag in his hand». The trench warfare ended in a hand-to-hand battle in which the «loyalists» came out victorious.

After the riot had been suppressed, an order was given to the identify as many instigators as possible! The «impartial» court martial was composed of those same officers whom the rioters marked out for «extermination». At the first sittings of the court, a «surprise»,—according to the expression of the *Manchester Guardian*,—occurred. It appeared, that out of six prisoners five had disappeared without leaving any trace behind them: only George Lorette remained. However, there were six soldiers on the prisoner's bench: five, according to the same *Manchester Guardian*, were substitutes. Counsel for the defence, a Canadian officer, handed in a petition to suspend the trial owing to the absence of the prisoners: the court decided that the substitutes «must evidently have taken part in the riot, in any case, this would be cleared up at the trial».

The sentence is still unknown to us.

Beating the Glasgow Workers.

In the middle of April, trade unions in Glasgow were brought up for trial for having been beaten by the police.

There were great strikes in Glasgow towards the end of January, the workers of several branches of industry went on strike simultaneously. On January 31st, there was a «peaceful demonstration». Several thousands of workers marched in the direction of the town hall. A delegation was sent to the mayor, at the head of which were Neil Maclean, M. P., and James Kirkwood. The delegates hardly had time to enter the town-hall, when mounted police rushed into the square, and the police started beating the workers with their truncheons. Here is a picture of this scene as painted by several witnesses at the trial:

Witness Mac Phyfe. I saw a boy of ten whose head had been broken by a truncheon. Of course, the boy died instantly. I saw a policeman dealing blows at a man lying in a pool of blood. The crowd was without arms and could not defend itself.

Witness Johnston. I happened to be in the square by chance. It is quite impossible to describe the cruelty and brutality of the police. They beat the wounded, some of them to death, and hit men who were down.

Witness Nurse Melre. On the eve of the demonstration, the leader of the strike, Shinwell, warned the workers that an attack was being prepared against them, that troops had been called from Edinburgh, and advised the workers «to behave prudently» and cautioned

them against provocation. I saw how a policeman beat a man wounded in the leg. I was in the square the whole time, attending to the wounded, and saw how several policemen rushed at Maclean and Kirkwood when they came out of the Town Hall, and beat them until they were half dead».

Shinwell and Kirkwood, together with other trade-unionists, were arrested and charged with «inciting the crowd to rebellion» and «organising an attack on the police».

The Triple Alliance.

The Miners' Federation, by a majority of 693,084 against 76,992, voted for the Sankey Report (see No 2 «Communist International») and «to postpone the strike for a more favourable time».

At the Miners' conference on March 26th, it was decided to demand from the government the following points:

1. The abolition of conscription.
2. The recall of British troops from Russia.
3. The raising of the German blockade.
4. The release from prison of all conscientious objectors.

It was decided «to support these demands by threats of a general strike». «For the first time in English history», writes the *Manchester Guardian*, «the workers are on the eve of declaring a general, political strike».

On April 16th a conference took place of the Executive Committee of the Triple Alliance, where it was decided to support the demands of the Miners' Federation and «at the earliest possible date» to call together a conference of trade-unions to discuss the question of the general strike.

The conscientious objectors are gradually being set free. At the beginning of April, A. Fenner-Brockway, the well-known leader of the Independent Labour Party, was set free after having been in prison for 28 months.

Independent Labour Party Conference.

An I. L. P. conference took place at Huddersfield on April 21st. The opening speech was delivered by Philip Snowden, from which we give a few extracts:

«Socialism is the only salvation for Europe and the whole world. We already see the beginning of the end of the capitalist system. The Red Flag is floating over two-thirds of Europe. The whole world is answering to the call of the Russian revolution».

«The Paris Peace Conference proves that the Allies will do anything to attain their imperialistic aims. All our apprehensions with regard to the plundering peace which is inevitable after a militarist victory, are confirmed... In reality there is no peace, and there cannot be peace, because a new war—the class war—has already begun. The imperialist peace treaty is a worthless scrap of paper».

At the first session of the conference, a resolution was carried to demand the lifting of the German blockade and the recall of British troops from Russia. At the second session, the question of «soviets and parliament»—as the most-preferable form of government—was discussed. Many delegates were in favour of the soviets and sharply criticised representatives of the Labour Party in Parliament.

The organ of the Liberal Party, the *Daily News*, writes of the mass desertion from the liberal party to the I. L. P. Amongst the deserters, is Commander Wedgwood, who was several months in Siberia as extraordinary plenipotentiary. He went to Siberia thoroughly convinced of the necessity to crush the bolshoviki, and returned home a confirmed adherent of peace with Soviet Russia. Now he stands at the head of the campaign for recognition of the soviet government, and has left the liberal party for not working energetically enough in this direction.

British Socialist Party Conference.

The B. S. P. conference was opened at Sheffield on April 21st. Resolutions were carried for: the socialisation of land and means of production; for uniting with the I. L. P. and opposition to the policy with the Parliamentary Labour Party. The conference demanded an inquiry into the January events in Glasgow and the immediate liberation of Shinwell, Kirkwood and others. A commission is deciding the proposal of breaking with the second International and joining the Communist International. Comrade John Maclean sharply criticised the Labour Party and its leaders. «The papers report», said he, «that Henderson had an audience with the king, and was honoured by an invitation to dine with his majesty. The Hendersons and Thomases must go. It is the period of revolution. The next step to be taken is the general strike. We must immediately take the land and means of production into our own hands».

FRANCE.

The words uttered by Clemenceau, the dictator, upon the signing of peace: «I have waited forty-nine years for this moment», are highly characteristic of the psychology of the Imperialist feelings of the French bourgeoisie. In these words we find frank expression of its most cherished hopes and intimate desires as well as an unconcealed confession that for 50 years it has waited with impatience for a moment to avenge itself for its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war, and to destroy Germany.

The exultation of a certain section of the press, accompanied by ringing statements of discontent of certain Imperialist newspapers on the too «easy» conditions of peace is, of course, too obvious to delude anybody. It is, of course, impossible to compare the economic position of France with the position of Germany; the cost of living, although the increase in prices has swallowed up

the increase in wages, is still not so bad. It is true that French workers have not yet fully understood the meaning of their victory and a section of them which has caught the influence of the bourgeois press give an enthusiastic welcome to the soldiers who pass under the Arc de Triomphe, but, in spite of this, the syndicalist movement becomes ever stronger and stronger. No eight-hour day legislation which has been accepted by Parliament with reservations, and numerous restrictions is capable of putting a stop to it, and the postponement of demobilization, the campaign against Russia, the recognition of the counter-revolutionary Government of Kolchuk and the policy of stern reprisals in France itself can only hasten the development of the revolutionary movement.

It would appear that at present the centre of revolutionary forces towards which we have been aiming for some months already, has at length been formed. For instance, the syndicalist organ, *Workers' Life* (*La vie ouvrier*) which before the war was published twice monthly, and which during the war was stopped altogether, has again begun to appear. Pierre Monat and Rosmayer were formerly its chief editors. The present *Workers' Life* is published as a weekly organ and, judging from all appearance, promises to become the real organ of the fighting proletariat. It is true that Melheim has resigned his work in the editorial offices of the newspaper; unfortunately, he forsook a long time ago his former political friends and in his views, stands nearest to Touhaux and Longuet, but to compensate this amongst the new collaborators of the newspaper, we meet with some of the principal representatives of the Zimmerwald tendency in the left wing of the French socialist party: Pericot and Somono, as well as Ferdinand Després, former collaborator of *Syndicalist Struggle* and editor of the *Proletarian*, Marcel Martin and others. *Workers' Life*, and the *International*, founded by Pericat, works together with the newspaper, *International Future*, published by André Girard, and a number of other purely revolutionary newspapers.

Symptoms, extremely interesting to the impartial observer, are also to be noticed. In recent times, in intellectual circles. The student socialist league the majority of which consist of adherents of the Zimmerwald tendency, gives evidence at present of purely bolshhevik tendencies and counts some hundreds of members. It is an interesting fact that amongst the members of the league there is a whole group of students from South Slavonia, and they are not behind their other comrades either in their revolutionary thoroughness nor in their determination to fight.

It is also necessary to point out the growth of the revolutionary and anti-bourgeois movement in the northern departments of France, which have been under the occupation of German troops. The occupation of these localities, later on by Allied troops gave rise to great discontent amongst the majority of the population, one of the typical mediums of this feeling was the deputy, Lobat. The brutal attitude of the military authorities and the lack of food supplies resulted in that Chauvinism, which formerly found fertile ground in these localities, has at present almost entirely disappeared, having given way to general hatred towards the government of Clemenceau.

The workers of Alsace-Lorraine, who have been forbidden the right to organize themselves or to form soviets, who have been deprived of the right to strike (the principal blame for this rests on the traitor Touhaux sent there by the C. G. T.), have become convinced at present that they have gained absolutely nothing by becoming French citizens, and that the power of Clemenceau, i. e., the domination of the French bourgeoisie, is in no manner better

than the power of Wilhelm Hohenzollern, i. e., domination of the German bourgeoisie. Even bourgeois circles in Alsace are far from being satisfied with the conduct of the French authorities. For instance, some groups, whose "loyalty" it would never enter anybody's head to doubt, have demanded autonomy for the Alsace-Lorraine railways, affirming, with reason, that since the French occupation, the railways have begun to work much worse than under German authority. Further they are becoming every day more convinced that institutions, such as the Post, Telegraph, Telephone, Hospitals and Sanitation have at present got into the most wretched condition. Let us add further that the Catholic population is still more dissatisfied, because it has had to submit to the law on separation of the Church from the State, despite the fact that this law at present is applied in a greatly restricted form.

Meanwhile, the Paris bourgeoisie gives way to pleasure and enjoyment, in this manner completing the last phase of its disintegration. The most farseeing and the most temperate amongst its representatives thoroughly justified in their fear of the further spread of bolshevism would have had recourse to President Wilson and his idea of the League of Nations had they had their way. But at present they also perceive what only a blind man would be incapable of seeing, namely that France, which has freed herself of German invasion, has nevertheless not restored her former independence, for, owing to the quartering of English-American soldiers, and under the guise of all kinds of work, concessions and contracts, Anglo-American Imperialism has taken up almost the whole territory of the country. These bourgeois thinkers therefore look forward to the future with forebodings, in the obscurity of which they already see glimmering the red tongues of revolution's menacing fire.

Andre Cartini.

The Festival of International Solidarity.

The First of May in the West.

By its magnitude and also by its character the Day of International Labour this year surpassed the expectations of many. We can, without exaggeration say, that the world had not yet seen such a grandiose First of May festival. Throughout the world this day passed under the banner of Social-Revolution. In the still far from numerous Soviet Republics in Russia, Hungary, the Ukraine, and others, where the proletariat is holding the power in its hands, and taking the first steps towards the realization of Socialism, the labouring masses solemnly and joyously celebrated their triumph. In all the Capitalist countries, where power is still in the hands of the Bourgeoisie and its career-hunters the social-traitors, the First of May proved a day of general review of revolutionary forces, a day of preparation for the coming struggle. Cut off from all the world by the blockade of the Imperialist plunderers; surrounded on all sides by a tightening circle of enemies, we but rarely receive authentic news as to the development of the Workmen's movement in the West. Only now, when two months have elapsed, have we the possibility of reconstructing, more

or less fully the picture of the First May Festival abroad. In France the celebration of the First of May assumed colossal dimensions, notwithstanding the opposition of the old organizations of the old leaders of Socialism and Syndicalism now bribed by the bourgeoisie, and became an open revolutionary demonstration of the working-masses. The strike passed brilliantly, not only in Paris, but also in the Provinces; it was a general strike in the full meaning of the word. In Paris, this centre of universal counter-revolution, the government of Clemenceau forbade the organization of street demonstrations, but the demonstrations took place in spite of that and led to bloody collisions with the police and some military detachments, in the course of which, according to the communication of the London paper, *The Times*, there were amongst the demonstrators 350 wounded and one killed — a young workman, Charles Lorn; and amongst the police 250 wounded, of whom 50 severely. The masses were in a fighting mood. The demonstrators proceeded singing the «International», and carrying high their red flag. From amongst the crowd revolutionary cries were continually bursting forth: «Down with Clemenceau!» «Down with the bourgeoisie!» «Long live the Socialist Revolution!» «Long live Russia!» «Long live the Soviets!» According to the communication of bourgeois papers 100,000 workmen took part in the demonstration, but the moderate-socialistic organ *Humanité* affirms that the number of participants reached a million. Separate incidents of the demonstration are described in greater detail in an article in the second number of the Communist International, and we will not dwell on them here. We will only add that as a result of this demonstration a new cleft was made in the so-called «civil peace» or «sacred union» (the union between the bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the proletarian organizations). By the decision of the party the late socialist ministers, Compière-Morell and Brisson had to hand in their resignation, and Touhaux, the secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, was forced to resign his post as member of the Peace Conference. This grandiose demonstration of the French proletariat does not form a single isolated act; it is but one link in a long chain of revolutionary events, which can be observed in contemporary France. It was preceded by wide-spread strikes and imposing manifestations, and followed by waves of strike-movements, which, without ceasing for a day, are surging throughout the country. All symptoms point to the fact that the working class of France has already stepped on the path of open revolutionary struggle.

In England the celebration of the First of May, is, in general, a new, unusual phenomenon. In times preceding the war only a few socialist-groups arranged on this day small meetings and assemblies, which were frequented by a few dozen, in the most of cases by a few hundred members. But this year, there also, the day of the First of May became a festival of the proletarian masses.

A sufficiently imposing demonstration defiled in the streets of London. Part of the demonstrators attempted to penetrate into the Houses of Parliament, but the police dispersed the crowd and arrested the celebrated socialist, Sylvia Pankhurst. According to *The Times* 100,000 people took part in the meetings held in Hyde Park. In the large industrial town of Coventry, a general strike took place. In Lancashire 40,000 workmen celebrated the First of May by processions and meetings. In Scotland, especially in Glasgow, the principal centre of the socialist movement, the general strike passed with unheard of success and the meetings and street demonstrations reached great proportions. The bourgeois papers speak with fear of the growth of the bolshevist movement in England.

In Ireland the proletarian festival was a general national festival in the full meaning of the word. The resolution for a general strike, declared by the leading organs of the trade unions and of the Labour Party, was accepted by all the country. Not only factories and mills came to a standstill, but also railways, tramways, printing-offices; the steamboat communication was suspended; all the shops, theatres, cinematographs were closed, the papers did not appear, the cabdrivers did not ply their trade. At the numerous meetings in the towns and villages, resolutions with revolutionary and socialist demands were voted.

In Spain large meetings and demonstrations took place, which in Madrid led to serious collisions in which 20 demonstrators, 7 officers and 23 of the police were wounded. In Italy the First of May, according to the communication of the official agency, «passed quietly». The general strike embraced not only the large towns, but also the provinces. The assemblies, at which revolutionary discourses were held, passed everywhere «without any incidents». Evidently the frightened bourgeoisie expected on this day a real insurrection to take place. From Switzerland, Austria and Holland we have the same communication. Everywhere the movement bore an unheard of grandiose, but, at the same time, peaceful character. The proletarian masses evidently thought that the moment had not yet come for decisive action; the bourgeoisie on the other hand evidently feared to provoke the workmen and avoided stern repressive measures.

In Germany, over which is hanging the threat of a miserable and shameful peace and where the workmen's movement has not yet recovered its strength after the recent defeats, the celebration of the First of May bore, to a certain degree a character of mourning. In many places (in Hamburg, Leipzig, Essen and others) the strike passed with success; tens and hundreds of thousands of workmen took part in the mass meetings and demonstrations. In the speeches and resolutions not only of the communist Spartacists, but also of the «independents» it was clearly emphasised that the time was past when they could come forward with their former palliatives, such as

the eight hours working day, labour legislation, etc., that the conquest of power and realisation of socialism form the most urgent and important task. Great meetings were also held in the towns, proclaimed by the government of Noske to be in a state of seige. Even in the line of the occupation by the Allies, meetings took place in masses (in Aachen, Coblenz); in some of the towns (for instance in Cologne) enormous crowds of workmen defiled in majestic silence before the eyes of the occupational troops.

As regards America we have, up to the present moment, only scanty communications, but which nevertheless show that the celebration of the First of May there bore a very stormy character. In Cleveland serious collisions with the troops and the police took place, as a result of which there was one killed and over a hundred wounded (amongst whom 11 policemen). The group of «Patriotic Citizens» completely wrecked the premises of the local committee of the socialist party. In order to suppress the demonstration armoured motors and tanks were even brought into action. According to *The Times* many arrests were made. In New York soldiers and sailors dispersed many meetings at which «too radical speeches» were being made. On Madison Square, a regular battle ensued between police and soldiers. Concerning Canada, where economic strikes continue without ceasing, we have only the brief news that on the First of May serious tumults were observed amongst the workmen. From Argentina it is communicated that the First of May passed «with perfect calm». The strike was unanimous, all except the banks ceased work. The same communication further says that the Argentine «League of Patriots» which consists of 20,000 «of the best elements» firmly decided to prevent the possibility of any disturbances on Sunday, which might arise in consequence of meetings, that were being arranged by anarchists. In case of necessity «the League would not hesitate to make use of its arms». The communication then speaks obscurely of hopes that the rural-economic strikes are coming to an end.

This brief review proves clearly that the international union of the working class is advancing rapidly and irrepressibly. It is being realized not so much in loud resolutions and decisions of the assemblies and conferences as in the persistent and incessant struggle, which is being carried on day by day by the working masses of all countries. The celebration of the First of May this year offers the surest proof that the International movement has already attained a high degree of development, that Universal Revolution is approaching — or to speak more correctly, has already come.

I. Borsin (Winter).

The Slovak Soviet Republic.

The Russian proletarian revolution has not only proclaimed the Soviet form of government as the very best form of class rule during the transitional period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but has practically solved the question of the mutual life of different peoples, who, so far, had lived under the oppression of nationality. In the place of separate small states, organized by the bourgeoisie in the name of national "independence", a federation of Soviet republics must be created: so decided Soviet Russia and proposed this decision for acceptance to the minor popular bodies united with her. So! Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and White Russia were organized on the Soviet plan. Soviet Hungary followed suit. Likewise, imperialist Russia used to oppress various nationalities in the Hungarian kingdom; seven nationalities lived under perpetual oppression. After the deposition of the Hapsburgs, these seven peoples succeeded and proceeded to organize their tiny independent states, of course on bourgeois lines. The Hungarian proletariat had to contend with precisely the same problem as the Russian proletariat, namely to convince the workers of all oppressed peoples of the former Hungarian kingdom, that the Hungarian proletariat had no intention whatever of oppressing them, and that their only means of defending themselves against foreign capitalism lay in forming one federative Soviet republic jointly with the Hungarian proletariat.

Following along these lines, Hungary formed her first Ukraine-Slovakia. When the Hungarian Red Army, after expelling the Czechs, reached the frontier of the Slovakian territory, the Slovak peasants and proletarians, hostile to the Czech bourgeoisie greeted them as liberators and flocked in thousands to form a Slovakian "red" division, which fought alongside of the Hungarians. The Czechs showed no resistance, so the city of Kassa was promptly taken from them, and there the new Slovakian government was established. It took for its watchword: "Slovakia for the Slovak workers". It declared that there was no longer any room in Slovakia for Czech bourgeois and proclaimed a close alliance with Soviet Hungary.

It is not yet clear what are the boundaries of Soviet Slovakia. In the former Hungarian kingdom the Slovak lands extended from the northwestern and northern frontier of Hungary to the life of the cities of Pojan, Ershekuivar, Leva, Loshon, Ranyo, Kasha, Shaporalyanigel. This area covers 35,000 square kilometers, where, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of Hungarians and Germans 2,000,000 of Slovaks are living. But for the present about half of Slovakia is occupied by Czechs, who, evidently, are not going to clear out of it voluntarily; the other half, with the above-named cities, except Pojan, belongs to Soviet Slovakia.

The composition of the Slovak government clearly shows that there is no sort of nationalistic jingoism about it and that it is not directed against the Czechs. The president of the peoples commissaries, Comrade Janaushek, is himself a Czech, and so is the commissary of finances, Konetchni. And the commissary of justice, Bauen. Janaushek is an old party worker in the Czech movement, and Konetchni used to work in Prussia among the Czech-Slovak communists. Like Soviet Russia, which came to the Ukrainian Soviet government's assistance with its organizing forces, Hungary delegated out of its own party workers several capable comrades to the newly organized Slovak government.

The following Slovaks are among the people's commissaries: Mathias Kovatch, commissary of war, an old Slovak socialist, who in Russia, under Bela Kuhn's guidance, conducted the agitation among the Slovak prisoners of war. Comrade Janosh, people's commissary of agriculture, boasts a similar career in the past. Less well known amidst the Slovak people's commissaries are Neumann (Labour) and Mutchany (ways of communication). The Hungarian communists have two representatives in the Slovak Soviet government: Ernst Por, people's commissary of foreign affairs, and Tibor-Szamuely, people's commissary of social production in Slovakia. Comrade Por has been secretary of the Hungarian communist group in Moscow, and previous to his appointment in Slovakia was commissary of international propaganda in Budapest. Comrade Szamuely, former people's commissary of war in Hungary, quite recently visited Moscow, entrusted with a special mission from the Hungarian republic; well known as an energetic organizer, he is now striving to achieve the socialization of a number of industries in Slovakia.

A. Rudniansky

The Growth of the German Revolution.

The peace treaty which the Entente has forced on Germany is one of the heaviest blows that could have been dealt to the Ebert-Scheidemann government, which had so heartily hoped to be handled a little more gently in recognition of the many fine services it has rendered the Entente in Russia; and now Scheidemann groans in genuine despair: "It is impossible". But something else is possible, namely that the masses, in their disgust at the monstrous deceit practised upon them, call the government to account. At this moment it may be of interest to trace back the growth of the movement and to observe the mutual action and reaction of events.

To the accompaniment of the war cries of the bourgeoisie and their inseparable allies, the social-patriots, the second International ingloriously expired in the first days of August, 1914. The few who at that time ventured to swim against the all-engulfing current of jingoism were regarded by their own party as criminals or madmen. I will recall only the shameful scene which took place in the Reichstag when Karl Liebknecht, who alone had opposed a bill for a new war-loan, was abused and ordered out of the hall, to the approving shouts of the social-patriots.

Four years elapsed before the question dawned on a small section of the proletariat: what good will even a final victory be to us if we starve and bleed to death before it comes? and, in January, 1918, strikes broke out all over Germany with the object of preventing the offensive planned for the spring. The principal contingent of strikers was supplied by the war industry, but it was only in the cities along the coast and in Bavaria, under the leadership of Kurt Eisner, who later on was Bava-

rian prime minister, that the movement assumed real importance; however, as already remarked, it took hold of only a portion of the labor population, and soon succumbed everywhere, in places before the Maxim guns and almost universally before the sabotage of the trade unions and the flood of pan-German propaganda.

In the autumn the western front at last broke down, and a naval war appeared to the supreme command as the only possible salvation. In the first days of November the high-sea fleet was ordered out, and mutinied. In Bremen, Kiel and Wilhelmshaven were instituted the first councils (Soviets) of workmen and sailors.

Curiously enough, the movement now jumped all Germany, to start again in Munich. On the 6th of November Kurt Eisner had said to a small party of friends: "I pledge my head that to-morrow Bavaria will be a republic". On the 7th a great demonstration took place, of a partly revolutionary, partly merely pacifist, character, and, while the masses were peaceably marching along, about 300 soldiers and sailors arrived from Wilhelmshaven and coolly seized all the most important buildings. On the 8th the bourgeoisie were startled by the tidings that Bavaria overnight had become a republic.

In Berlin, Liebknecht, two days later, hoisted the red flag above the imperial palace. With the exception of a few fights around the palace and imperial stables, which were held by officers, the movement here also carried an almost bloodless character. Wilhelm II. fled from the imperial headquarters straight to Holland, and within a few days 26 thrones, great and small, had become scrap iron.

That was and remained the only result of the November revolution. Germany, under the guise of a socialistic republic, had become a semi-bourgeois, semi-socialdemocratic state. But only too soon did the workingmen discover that they had been balked of the actual fruits of the movement and that nothing was really changed but the names of the ministers.

At the end of November the Spartacus league began its agitation, which spread irresistibly over the whole of Germany the growth of the communist idea. But, simultaneously with that the narrow-mindedness of our social-democratic trade unions manifested itself in all its monumental greatness. The Ebert-Scheidemann government openly went over to the bourgeoisie, and the party obediently started to follow it; thus were formed two irreconcilably hostile camps, which fought their battles under the two watchwords: "The national assembly"—"The Soviet republic". We had not long to wait for the bloody fruits of this treason of the "socialist" leaders.

On the 24th of December new violent disturbances broke out in Berlin in consequence of the government's plans to dissolve the revolutionary "national marine division", which had its seat in Berlin. It resulted in bloody encounters for the possession of the palace and stables, in which ordnance artillery was used for the first time; yet the result remained doubtful, and the matter ended in an agreement between the two parties. This closes the first stage of the revolution, which, so far, had been an exclusively military revolt. A change was now coming; the revolution was to enter on the proletarian stage.

In the beginning of January the government attempted to dismiss the Berlin chief of police, Eichhorn, who had sided with the sailors. Eichhorn entrenched himself in the police building and distributed arms to the communists. The minister of "state-defence" Noske, a "socialist workingman", mobilized white guards under the command of acting officers and generals and the fight ended with the heaviest blow that could have been dealt the German proletariat,—the death of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Both were treacherously shot down by soldiers, evidently hired for the purpose; Rosa was killed with the butt-end of a rifle.

From this time on there has not been one quiet day in Germany. In Bremen and Königsberg the communists succeeded in temporarily seizing power, and, while Noske sent up against them Gerstenberg's "Flying Division", a general strike broke out in central Germany, with the result that the government and the national assembly,—owing to the participation in it of the transport officials—were temporarily almost entirely cut off from the rest of the country. Finally, the strike once more gained Berlin, and, early in March, it resulted in those famous fights for the possession of the Berlin-Lichtenberg police-building, during which the government troops acted with a brutality unheard of in the history of civilized nations.

I would quote here only a few incidents out of the events of those days. On the grounds of a statement in some bourgeois papers falsely asserting that the Spartacists had put to death in Lichtenberg sixty police officials, the "socialist workingman" Noske ordered every armed communist to be shot down on the spot. A few days later it was ascertained that those sixty men had not been on duty at all on the day in question and that only three gendarmes altogether had lost their lives in the fray. Meantime this bloody command of Noske's cost nearly 200 comrades their lives. In this number unfortunately was Leo Tytško. His end was almost exactly like Liebknecht's: He was shot through the head on the stairs of the Moabit prison, by one of the soldiers who escorted him. This loss was the

more sorely felt by us, that his death left the party leaderless.

An exceedingly important chapter in the history of the German revolution is the movement in the industrial district of the Ruhr, the seat of the numerically strongest and most class-conscious proletariat. Under Comrade Katske's leadership strikes are continually going on there, partly of an economical, but mainly of a political nature, without the government being able to combat them by anything except fair words and increased supplies of provisions, as, the moment troops enter the district with hostile intent, the men immediately threaten sabotage,—ruining invaluable and unreplaceable machinery and whole branches of production.

Still, the situation here, in the Ruhr district, is precisely the same, on a smaller scale, as it is on a large scale in the entire country: lack of system in revolutionary action; and Weimar has, comparatively, an easy time of it to overcome detached movements with indisputably strong counter-revolutionary troops.

I have now to speak of what preceded the latest events in Bavaria, and, in so doing, must go back a little way. Under Hoffmann's purely minimalist (menshevist) ministry, reaction gained ground daily and at length forced on the now merely seemingly revolutionary central Soviet to a parliamentary compromise between the representatives of the majority-party and the Independents within the Soviet, which compromise led to the proclamation of the Soviet-Republic on the 6th of April.

But how little ground this proclamation held in the great mass of the rural population is best proved by a voting which had taken place four weeks before in the congress of Soviets, on which occasion the proclamation of the Bavarian Soviet-republic was opposed by 200 votes against 70. The communists, led by the Russian comrades Levi and Axelrod, refused to take part in this political farce and formed a second central Soviet, so that Bavaria temporarily had two governments: the Hoffmann cabinet, which had fled to Bamberg, and, in Munich, a Menshevik and Bolshevik Soviet. The communists now succeeded in dissolving this first central Soviet and to attract the masses to them, at least temporarily. But the untenability of the Soviet republic was proved and sealed when Hoffmann's government troops succeeded in pre-

venting the movement from reaching Nürnberg and restoring quiet in Augsburg within a very few days. Even the thorough arming of the workingmen could not, in view of the utter immaturity of conditions with regard to the final stage of the class war, arrest the consummation of the city's fate. And so this second revolution was and remained limited to Munich, and the advancing government troops found it comparatively easy to break the resistance of the detached armed groups, for, of an organized red labour army, there could be no question after these few days. And again we had to deplore losses: Comrade Egelhofer, a very clever young sailor, who had played a prominent part already in the marine revolt, had been shot; also the student Toller, the leader of the Munich Independents, who had succeeded in converting to communism nearly the entire left wing of the party,—and with these surely perished many others.

Even if this second Bavarian revolution could not attain a durable success, still it has a great value for the further course of the German movement, be it by the amount of practical experience it has brought with a view to the continuation of the conflict, or simply by proving that the Soviet idea is spreading and will spread more.

The situation in Germany is, indeed, not very encouraging just at present; the movement, in Munich as well as in Berlin, is suppressed, the majority of the leaders are either in prison or have fled, and in both cities white terror is rife. It may seem to an outsider that the silence of death lies over Germany, but inside the ferment is working unceasingly; slowly but steadily progresses the decay of the social-patriotic parties, recognized as bankrupt in ever widening spheres, and the straying of their members leftward, to the ranks of the communists.

The quiet, then, is but apparent and in reality means—preparation for the fight.

How long will this condition last? We do not know. But the storm is drawing near, and with the storm the squaring of accounts with Ebert-Scheidemann.

Hans Kennet (Bavaria).

Munich—Moscow.
May 18, 1919.

The Russian Trade Unions and the Commissariat of Labour.

Until the March Revolution of 1917 Russia had scarcely any trade union movement worth speaking of, the trade unions were few in number and scarcely counted several dozen members. Their activity was hampered in every respect. However, the revolution having broken down the external barriers, the movement began to develop rapidly. But the character of their work did not undergo any change. Just as under the old régime they had to struggle mainly for the elementary conditions of labour, thus detracting their forces from the necessary inner organisation and from consciously influencing the development of industry. Nor did the position of the working class and of the trade union organisations change after the Ministry of Labour was formed in April, 1917, with the social democrat Skobelow as minister of state. The Labour Office was organised on the same bureaucratic lines as the other ministries. It was wholly under the influence of the wholesale manufacturers, who sat in Kerensky's coalition cabinet, wherein they played a decisive rôle. It was only, thanks to the unity of the workmen organised in trade unions and the close contact established between the unions and the factory committees, that a number of measures which the enterprises intended to carry through could be frustrated, as e. g. their attempt at wholesale dismissal of workmen, the withdrawal of raw material and cash from the concerns etc.—measures for which there was a marked tendency during the latter part of Kerensky's rule.

During the October Revolution the trade unions played an important rôle in helping the peasants and workmen to attain power. As early as August, 1917, the negative attitude of the trade unions towards Kerensky's government found expression at the Moscow State Congress when the representatives of the professional organisations protested against a coalition with the bourgeoisie, thus in a veiled form demanding the transference of State power to the soviets. On the eve of the political coup d'état of October, 1917, the relations between workmen and employers came to a critical point. Harmonious work of their respective representatives on the several committees and at conferences was no longer possible. Moreover, food-stuffs having risen in price enormously, it became imperative to revise the old wage tariffs, and the workmen's representatives entered in negotiations with the employers with a view to drawing up new tariffs. As the employers took up an uncompromising position nothing remained but to struggle for power and to transfer the regulations of industry and wages to the state. Soon after Soviet rule had been established the trade unions had to accomplish a tremendous task in connection with industry and the demobilisation of the army. The enterprises were not yet nationalised, the owners hastened to dismiss their workmen, and unemployment threatened to crush all the achievements of the Revolution. Conjointly with the Labour Commissariat the trade unions drew up a decree, according to which the workmen must be paid three months in advance in event of their dismissal, so as to enable the unemployed either to settle in the country or to look out for other work without having to starve meantime. Further, a decree was issued making the employers pay 4% of all wages and salaries into the

unemployment fund. Thanks to these and a series of other measures unemployment was successfully coped with and the economic crisis did not tell so severely on the working masses as it would otherwise have done.

In addition to the immediate protection of the workers' interests the trade unions, in the process of their construction, had to overcome innumerable difficulties, to pass through a great diversity of forms and to accomplish a tremendous amount of creative work.

As early as 1905 the Russian trade union movement advocated the organisation of trade unions on the basis of production, all enterprises of one given branch uniting in one organisation. After the March Revolution this principle was confirmed by the trade-unions conferences, though for a considerable time it remained a mere declaration on paper without being carried into life. Along with the large trade unions there existed in Russia a number of small professional groupings, Moscow, e. g., counting about 20 different unions of employees. Moreover, all the unions bore a local character; there was no connection between the organisations. Each separate union existed and acted as an independent unit. It was only towards the end of the Kerensky Government that All-Russian associations first appeared, but were still rare and had a temporary character. The first conference of organised workmen took place in June, 1917, 1,475,000 workers being represented in 967 unions. After the October Revolution the formation of All Russian associations went fast ahead, and in January, 1918, the first congress of trade unions was called at which 700 unions, with a membership of 2,500,000 persons, were represented. At the next congress in January, 1919, already as many as 3½ million workers were represented in 400 unions. Along with the congress of January, 1918 a number of lesser conferences of All-Russian associations took place, and from that time onwards the trade union movement continually gained in strength. The trade union councils, from mere centres of information, became leading organs and the unions began to pay and to contribute. At the present moment the trade unions are remarkable for their centralisation and discipline which are so effective in this respect as to surpass many a government institution. The decisions of the Central Council of Trade Unions are binding upon all professional organisations without exception. The trade unions readily submit to them and in all matters of dispute apply to the Council for instructions.

In the course of their work the trade unions came across another workmen's organisation—the factory committees. The latter, having sprung up after the March revolution, began to build up an organisation of their own, parallel with the trade unions. They even aimed at creating their own centre and in December, 1917, at the conference of factory committees they formed a special unit, a sub-division of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which called itself All-Russian Centre. But as far back as February, 1918, the first blow was dealt to this centre at the last Petrograd conference held by the factory committees conjointly with the trade unions. The present structure of the trade unions is as follows: the factory committees as primary units have combined in sub-divisions; these, in their

turn, go to form divisions which, again, are united in one central organisation. In the provinces local trade unions' councils are formed out of delegates from the several local unions on a basis of proportional representation. The local councils are subordinated to the Central Trade Unions' Council. The Executive Board of the Central Council consists of nine members elected at the congress of trade unions, which takes place once a year and which is supplemented by representatives of All-Russian Associations. The local councils are formed on the same lines as the Central Council, differing from it only in the matter of the number of representatives. Representation in congresses is conducted on the proportional basis; the voting—in contrast to Western Europe where the system of voting by mandates prevails,—is individual. Membership fees amounting to 1% of the wages earned and entrance fees equalling half a day's wages go to the respective branch of the trade union, which places one half of the sum at the disposal of the central union and 10% at the disposal of the Central Council. The sub-divisions exist on the budgets of the divisions. Whether or not membership and other fees are paid regularly depends, of course, upon the strength of the particular organisation. Thus Moscow, e. g., has over 530 thousand organised workmen who pay their fees with great accuracy. If a worker omits paying for three months he is automatically excluded from the union. The trade union demands obligatory entrance of the workers into the organisations, but this demand meanwhile only applies to workmen newly engaged in a concern and does not apply to the old workmen.

From the point of view of their representation in the various government institutions the trade unions form a powerful organisation; they possess over 50% of seats on the Board of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, in the Labour Commissariat and in the various branches of these two institutions. Nearly half the members of the Presidium of the Sup. Coun. of Pub. Econom. consisted of representatives from trade unions, but the latter had to recall many of their delegates, owing to a lack of able workers in the trade-union movement. Furthermore the Central Committees managing the various branches of productions are also composed of members of various unions, according to their agreement with the S. C. P. E. The trade unions take part in the work of public education and in the quality of permanent members belong to the School Extension Department and the Department for Professional Education attached to the Commissariat for Public Education, as well as to the Department for field cultivation of the Commissariat of Agriculture, etc.

Particularly great work fell to the lot of the trade unions with regard to the wage problem. At first wages were fixed according to local standards, whereby not only separate trade unions, but even individual concerns made their own tariffs. The local unions worked out their tariffs and submitted them for examination to the local Soviets (councils) and after being confirmed, they were carried into life. With wages regulated in this fashion one can easily imagine the chaotic condition the question was in. The first decree on the minimum wage was issued by the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies, much to the indignation of the manufacturers, who cried out against it as being sheer violence. After that the tariff movement progressed on wider lines. The Soviets scarcely managed to examine all the tariffs sent up to them and the matter assumed the following forms: Each union submitted its tariff to the local council of trade unions and the latter, after placing its signature to the document sent it up to the Labour Commissariat, which issued a corresponding decree. Approximate harmony among the various branches of industry was aimed at, but, never-

theless, each town had its own tariff policy. It was only towards the second Trade Unions' Congress that transition from local to All-Russian tariffs could be effected, the latter fixing the wages on one standard for the whole of Russia, with certain variations in per cent, according to the locality where the tariff was to be introduced. Besides this, a certain term was fixed for the revisions of the wages tariffs. Formerly this term had been established by each union at its own discretion, and when a new tariff was introduced valid from a certain date, the individual unions had demanded that corresponding additional payments be made for past times, not unfrequently for 6 to 8 months, sometimes even for a whole year back. The Central Trade Unions' Council always fought against such demands and now it has succeeded in establishing one definite term for the revisions of tariffs for the whole of the country, all additional payments for past times being abolished.

Parallel with the regulation of wages went the regulation of labour. The first tariff bore a character of plain enumeration of trades, while at the present time we have a tariff elaborated for each branch of labour, not merely stating the trades, but describing the character of the work in detail. Certain standards of productivity have been worked out and the nomenclature is carried through in such a fashion that soon the so-called "labour card" issued to each workman will give a clear notion of the work that can be assigned to him and the pay he should get when transferring from one concern to another.

Further, the trade unions are doing much work in raising the educational standard of the working masses. Attached to the trade unions are special educational cultural departments which organize clubs, open schools for the illiterate and, in general, do everything in their power to educate the workmen. In all the larger factories and works courses are being organised for the training of skilled workmen, and for general complementary knowledge. The Central Trade Unions Council will shortly open courses for the training of organisers in the trade union movement. It must also be noticed that almost every union in Russia has its press-organ in which along with professional matters questions of general political interest are being discussed.

A question arousing passionate debates at trade union congresses is that of the tasks of the trade-union movement. The representatives of the opposition as, e. g., the mensheviks, insist upon the old methods of improving the position of the workers, upon strikes, collective contracts and so forth. As long as hired labour exists, they contend, there will also exist exploitation of labour; therefore the trade unions should struggle against the state power and protect the workmen against it, just as formerly they protected them against the private employers. But this argument now does not meet with sympathy among the broad masses of workers and at all congresses resolutions are passed with overwhelming majorities in favour of the support of the Soviet power and the continuation of the trade union movement on its present lines. An unmistakable symptom of the attitude of the working men towards the actual state of things is furnished by the last conference of factory-works' committees. At the beginning of the conference there were 200 non-party members present; at the conclusion one hundred of these had joined the communist party.

The trade unions are at present devoting much energy and attention to the development of the movement in the Ukraine, where a branch office has been organised acting as bureau of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The conference of Ukrainian professional workers has shown that the antagonism between the bolsheviks and the menshe-

viks in the trade-union movement is much less acute there than with us. The mensheviks, taught by the experience of the Skoropadsky rule, are now ready to make all compromises. The Central Council of Trade Unions generally speaking aims at uniting the trade union movement all over the separate parts of Russia into one harmonious whole.

Parallel and in close contact with the activity of the Trade Unions went the work of the People's Commissariat of Labour. After the October Revolution the Labour Commissariat shared the same fate as the other commissariats (at that time still "ministries"): all employees forsook their posts and the premises were shut up. In the Labour Commissariat in particular, 5 porters and messengers showed themselves; but none of the rest of the staff. From the very outset the Labour Commissariat turned to the trade unions, out of whose representatives a collegiate was formed. Since then the Labour Commissariat in all its actions has relied upon the trade unions, and all the measures coping with unemployment, with the introduction of wage tariffs, etc., are the result of joint work of the Commissariat and the Central Trade Unions Council. The Collegiate of the Labour Commissariat consists, to a large extent, of representatives of Trade Unions who are confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets; the majority of the Commissariat's Departments are also composed of representatives of trade-union Departments and, in fact, the activity of these two institutions is so closely connected that at present the question of their complete amalgamation is being seriously considered.

In the comparatively short period of its existence the Labour Commissariat has worked out and carried into life

a whole series of important legislative acts: as the 8-hour working day, the prohibition of child labour up to the age of 14, the introduction of the 6-hour working day for juniors from 14 to 18, the prohibition of overtime work as a general rule and its admission only in special cases, the prohibition of night work for juniors and women, the granting leave to nourishing mothers to feed their children every three hours, and so on. Great importance must be attached to the law issued by the Commissariat for Labour regarding the social provision for workers, according to which law workers over the age of 60 are released from work and draw a pension equalling their full wages. At the age of 55 to 60 the worker has to submit to medical examination, as a result of which he may receive his pension even before the age of 60. Every worker having worked for a year, has a right to one month's holiday, the latter being at present reduced to a fortnight, owing to the adverse conditions through which the Soviet Republic is now passing. A further task of the Labour Commissariat is the regulation of wages, which are drawn up by the trade unions and decreed by the Commissariat. The strict control of the carrying out of all the regulations of the Commissariat is entrusted to inspectors; besides this each trade union has its special committee for the protection of labour. In the provinces Departments of the Labour Commissariat exist everywhere, built up on the system of the Centre.

Up to the present the Commissariat of Labour was engaged chiefly in drawing up various decrees and now it is engaged in carrying them into effect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

LIEBKNECHT'S TRIAL.

In Henry Barbusse's famous novel «Under Fire» Corporal Bertrand utters the following prophetic words: —

The future! With what eyes will those who live after us, and of whom progress — which comes as sure as fate — will have at last steadied the brains, look upon these killings and these exploits which we, who commit them, don't even know: whether to compare to the deeds of the heroes of Plutarch and Corneille, or to the deeds of common murderers! And for all that there is one face, one figure which has raised itself above the war and which shines with the beauty and importance of its courage . . .

«I listened, supported by my stick, leaning towards him, gathering in that voice which came in the silence of the twilight from a mouth nearly always mute. He cried with a clear voice:

— Liebknecht! —»

The martyr's death of the great champion of the cause still more endeared him to the workers of the whole world. Proletarians should grow familiar with their champion's thoughts and actions, and in this respect, a new book on Liebknecht will be of great assistance to them.

The publishing department of the Petrograd «Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies», the best publishing-house in Russia, has issued a remarkable book by Karl Liebknecht, entitled «My Trial».

This little book was written in prison by the unforgettable leader of the German proletariat. The first part appeared in the end of 1916 in Germany, illegally, in manuscript form. The second part was supplemented not long before the author's release from prison.

The book consists of letters and legal documents bearing on the trial; it presents the great leader of the world proletariat in formal documentary language; but out of it rises the living image of the immemorable hero of the proletarian movement for emancipation — as well as the repulsive features of the men representing that bourgeois world against which Liebknecht waged implacable war.

The following is the «warrant for arrest», issued on the 3rd of May, 1916, which started the legal proceedings against Karl Liebknecht:

Warrant of Arrest.

Private of the labour battalion, Karl Liebknecht, is to be subjected to preliminary detention, in view of his being suspected of having in Berlin on the first of May, 1916, by incessant action, and by the distribution of written proclamations, publicly, before a crowd, urged disobedience to the authorities; further, of having shown insubordination to the authorities by refusing to obey a military order and and by so doing having provoked the danger of serious injury to the army; and, lastly of having offered forcible resistance to an official deputed to carry out orders and decrees of the administrative authorities in the legitimate performance of his duties (see §§ 110, 113, of the penal code § 92 of the military code and the Imperial ordinance of 31, 7, 14) and on the ground that the arrest is called for by the necessity of maintaining military discipline, (§ 176, 3 of military law procedure).

Signed: President of the Military Court, Bohlen.

Berlin, May 3rd, 1916.

The following is the aspect which the demonstration of the 1st of May assumes in the enumeration of the grounds for the sentence:

«On the evening of the 1st of May, 1916, the accused, clad in civilian clothes, took part in the demonstration in Potsdam Square. A considerable number of persons, mainly of youthful age, had gathered there for the purpose of making a demonstration. Owing to the traffic in Potsdam Square, generally animated at this time of the day, there were frequent jams, and the police repeatedly drove the crowd into side streets. Order was maintained by large squads of police, so that, apart from occasional whistling and shouting of the crowd no disturbances occurred; when a number of policemen attempted to disperse the crowd which had amassed on the sidewalk before the «Fürstengarten» the accused shouted in a loud voice from among the crowd which surrounded him: «Down with the war! Down with the Government!»

On the 3rd of June Liebknecht sent his explanation to the court concerning the indictment which had been read against him. He began by pointing out that the persecution instituted against him was merely an inci-

dent in the struggle between the bourgeoisie of the world and the revolutionary internationalists.

«The indictment is in keeping with French, Austrian, Italian, Turkish, Russian and Swedish justice, which persecutes those who share my opinion in all those countries, as guilty of high treason, and who gained their latest success in Sweden a few weeks ago by condemning to imprisonment my friends Heglund, Oljelund and Heden for the highly successful propaganda which they carried on against war».

And Liebknecht parries the charge of high treason brought against him in a splendid passage, which we reproduce in its entirety: «High treason has always been a privilege of the ruling classes, — princes and aristocrats, — and is one of the most aristocratic traditions of this caste. Those really guilty of high treason do not appear before the bar; they sit in the offices of the great captains of industry, of the firms that attend to the equipment of armies, in great banks, on the estates of the agrarian junkers, they set at the Moltkebrücke, in Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden, in the various ministerial and princely palaces in the royal castles and on thrones.

«The real traitors are the responsible and irresponsible members of the German Government, the Bonapartists with unclean social consciences; they are the Government political and capitalistic hunters after spoils, the financiers and stock jobbers of every kind who have most criminally instigated this war exclusively for the sake of their profit, under the protection of semi-absolutism and secret diplomacy. Guilty of high treason are the men who have precipitated mankind into a chaos of barbarous violence which is transforming Europe into a heap of ruins and a wilderness, enveloping her in an atmosphere of lies and hypocrisy in which truth is blinded and stifled; and they intend to and will go on with their infernal machinations, until the bleeding and enslaved masses fall helpless into their grasp.

«They are the men who coin gold and power for themselves out of the people's blood, sweat, want and destitution; those who have a direct interest in the war or in its imperialistic aims; whose greed and thirst for domination hide behind ranting patriotic zeal. They are the men who, more than defeat, dread the success of the movement for emancipation among their own people, — who hate the people to be free in other countries as well, who are determined once again to deceive the people's hope of freedom, yet have the barefaced audacity to give this conflict the name of a «war of liberation», and who so far, have not yet been made to answer for their actions, merely because the bulk of the people, misled victim as it still is of cowardly artifices, to this day does not know the truth.

«Guilty of high treason are those, who even in time of war, together with their accomplices in enemy countries, form a sort of separate International with the object of fighting and defiling any movement in favour of

peace — those whose power over me is derived from the perfidiously contrived war and the iniquitous military dictatorship.» (19).

In his refutation (dated June 10th), of the indictment against him «the private of the labour battalion», Liebknecht, exposes his accusers' hypocrisy step by step.

He sketches a vivid picture of the cruel class conflict which seethes under the deceptive cover of civil peace.

Is the prosecution not aware that in nearly all great German cities disturbances arise as the result of famine, and demonstrations are organized in favour of peace and as a protest against the shortage of food? That the sentences imposed on those who have participated in these demonstrations amount to hundreds of years of imprisonment with hard labour, and of all prohibition to publish anything concerning them? Of the fact that, in the Reichstag, the conscription board prevented me from submitting an interpellation on the subject? Of the arrests, made under pretence of public safety, with the object of forcibly bringing discontented citizens to their senses? Does not the prosecution know that all our restless and politically unreliable elements are despatched to the trenches?

«The possibility of «internal dissension» appears a mere phantom to the prosecution, and the churchyard quiet of military dictatorship which stifles the masses' cries of despair, is in its eyes, «uniformity.»

«The prosecution extols the spirit of the German troops. Why are the military prisons and fortresses so overcrowded, that many thousands of sentenced soldiers have to be transferred to common civilian prisons?

«Does not the prosecution know that cases of insubordination and refusal to obey orders have become so frequent in certain parts of the front, that secret army orders insistently point out the danger of a general «moral breakdown» in the army? Does it not know that the men often have to be driven to battle by their officers with revolvers? That not only individuals and small units, but quite frequently large bodies of troops refuse any longer to take part in this inhuman slaughter or in these mass attacks, etc.? That in the war area the German soldiers very often become almost friends with the enemy, so that it becomes necessary to issue special army orders against this fraternizing, and that it is combatted by frequent transferring of troops from one place to another? Does the prosecution really not suspect how great is the number of German soldiers whose thoughts are one with my own?» (28) Liebknecht emphasizes the fact that he is not alone, — and praises the few who dare raise the banner of revolt against the imperialistic war. Every soldier who refuses to take part in the slaughter started by the imperialists stands morally incomparably above those who participate in it enthusiastically.

«This valour, this enthusiasm of the proletarian soldier, where are their roots? In the lack of class consciousness; in false notions as to the place they occupy in the modern social order, supposed as these notions are

by systematic deceit and distortion of the people's minds, — the system which is followed by the Governments and the ruling classes; in the imperfect comprehension by the soldiers of their historical mission. Such is the intellectual factor. These roots are further grounded in the absence of independence, selfreliance artificially nurtured in the masses, — in the intimidation achieved by a draconian discipline, the essence of which, according to Friedericks prescription, is as follows: «The officer must be to the soldier a greater terror than the enemy», — which amounts to rousing «valour» from cowardice, from dread of the stick — as the choice of lesser evil. Add to this the constantly fanned hatred of the enemy and carefully trained cruelty. This is the moral factor». (28).

Yes, this is what the ruling class understand by «morals». But those who bear the guilt of all the bloodshed strive to achieve their aims by making use of the ever increasing longing for peace amongst the soldiers.

In many men who have managed all things notwithstanding to rid themselves of these unworthy moral and intellectual influences, bravery is generated by the mistaken idea that victory would bring us nearer to peace, — an error which the experience of this war tends more and more to dispell, in spite of the convulsive efforts at hypnotic suggestion. How prophetic sound the following words which Liebknecht flings into the face of the triumphant foe:

I know that rapidly growing numbers of proletarians think as I do both at the front and at home. And, if the chancellor recently announced that «the people would square accounts after the war with those who stand around Liebknecht», — I hope and trust that the people will square accounts, in a very different manner, and it is to be hoped that they will do so thoroughly, not wait till the end of the war.

In his letter to the President of the Court in Berlin, dated June 21st, 1916, Liebknecht draws attention to the rapid growth of opposition protest to the war in Germany:

«The high figure of sentences in the army would be much higher still, the punishments still severer and for longer terms, were it not that the offences, even the gravest ones, are frequently overlooked, or settled quietly: but this mildness comes not from tenderheartedness, but of military necessity, and is a symptom not of lowered but of heightened criminality.

«The prisons are overcrowded with soldiers, but there would be many more, were it not that a vast number of men under sentence are sent to the trenches, where they may earn their pardon, after doing only part of their term of punishment, or even possibly, none of it at all». (36).

From the very beginning of the revolution the German Government strove to make Liebknecht harmless. In his declaration of June 26 he writes: «Early in February, 1915, when I entered the army in the 5th

military district, the district commander informed me that I was forbidden to take part in revolutionary meetings, to do any revolutionary propaganda, either verbally or in writing; I was also forbidden to wear the military uniform and to leave Berlin».

In the same declaration Liebknecht gives a detailed account of the aims he pursues: «To weaken and break down the rule of the capitalistic governments and dominant classes in Germany as well as in all other countries and all spheres of public life, including first and foremost, their military rule, and to substitute for it that of the socialist proletariat — such is the political aim of international socialism . . .

«The socialist's highest object is — to win the entire proletariat to the service of these aims, to participation in the conflict; to win over the proletarian soldiers, also who, in spite of their training, the force of discipline and rules of war, must remain fighters in the class struggle: the proletarian soldiers must place the duties of international solidarity and the class struggle higher than all military orders.

«The socialist's highest object is — to secure that in the near future, whether in the war with foreign states, or in civil war,—hundreds of thousands of soldiers should answer their officers' imperialistic fratricidal orders with the unanimous cry: «We will not shoot».

The socialist's highest object is — to do everything, in order that the bulk of the people be imbued with such sentiment and such courage, as will enable them to reply to the bonapartist cry: «Plutôt la guerre que l'insurrection» with the socialistic cry: «Plutôt l'insurrection, plutôt la révolution que la guerre». And Liebknecht quotes some words of his own spoken in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on the 16th of March:

«The spiritual emancipation of the working class can be secured by the workers alone. And our mission is to call out to the workers in all countries: «Arise and act». Those in the rear, and those in the trenches must lay down their arms and turn against the common foe, who robs them of light and air». (39).

Liebknecht flings the charge of high treason back in the face of his enemies. In his letter of June 26th to the court he says:

«What I am aiming at is the enfeeblement and break down of the German empire's military power, insofar as it is the military power of a capitalistic government and the dominant classes of Germany and serves them to attain their imperialistic military ends, and to encompass the political and economic oppression of the masses; I equally aim, of course, at the enfeeblement and break down of the military force of all other capitalistic states. This I have repeatedly declared already» (40).

Liebknecht never tires of unmasking the mendacity of the imperial government's military ideology.

«The watchword «against tsarism» suited the unscrupulous military heads. Not for nothing did the Government employ demagogues that the hoodwinked people, even wide proletarian circles, would not see the trick and would become fired with sacred revolutionary zeal and would let themselves be enticed into the imperialistic war for conquest.

«True «War against tsarism» was in the first place waged against France and England and began with the irruption of Luxemburg and Belgium and the occupation of the French mining districts Briey and Longwy, which had long been coveted by the Kerdorps, Krupps, Thyssens, Stumms, Rechlengs, etc.» (48).

Further, Liebknecht shows the consequences of the detestable organization for the fabrication of lies about the war.

«By daily whipping up the nerves of people to a frenzy of bloodthirsty hatred of the enemy, to a condition in which man, absolutely knowing not what he is doing, writhes with rage; for it is only in such a state of mania that the passion for killing can flourish». (51).

In his reply to the president of the Court in Berlin, who on the 26th of June pronounced the sentence (2½ years' imprisonment with hard labour without loss of civil rights) Liebknecht wrote on the 6th of July, 1916:

«I have offered resistance to the capitalistic government of Germany in order that an end may be put to its destructive campaign against the masses of the people. I have revolted against the ruling classes of Germany in order that the people may be saved by wrenching it out of their predatory grasp. I have torn the mask from the imperialists, the would-be benefactors of the people, so the people may see who are their real enemies and free themselves from them. I fight the governments and ruling classes of all countries on behalf of the labouring classes of all countries.» (57).

On the 17th of July Liebknecht wrote to the Court about Rosa Luxemburg: «I hear that on the 10th of July my friend Rosa Luxemburg was arrested. The agents of the high military authorities inveigled her by deceit and placed her in prison, where, helpless at the mercy of her enemies and, ailing as she is, bad air and lack of exercise will cause her to sicken and pine away.

«In February, 1915, they thrust her into the police van with woman thieves and prostitutes and kept her a year in prison. Now they want to finish her, this woman in whose frail body lives such a great ardent spirit, such a bold, brilliant mind, and who will have a glorious place in the history of human culture. . .

«But the force which they strive to conquer in Rosa Luxemburg is mightier than the brute force which can decree a state of siege: it will break down the prison walls and triumph.»

Rosa Luxemburg, who escaped alive out of the imperial government's hands, fell together with Liebknecht at those of the Scheidemannists.

At this terrible time Liebknecht found his only consolation in the German labouring masses, — the one bright spot in this servile age, — who, since the end of June by ever increasing mass demonstrations and, better still, by mighty strikes, principally in the works which manufacture war supplies, — dealt heavy blows against the war and the government. (63).

Liebknecht, the resolute fighter against universal imperialism, begins, as befits an internationalist, by unmasking the imperialists at home.

«But if the «ruthless submarine war», as the English naval department has good cause to term it, is contrary to international law, then international law must allow the crews of the submarines who wage it, to be dealt with according to the usages of war.»

«And if the crew of the «Baralong» on the 19th of August did that of which the German government accuses them (and which the English government denies), they merely acted as the German troops acted hundreds of times in Belgium. And the order «to take no prisoners», ascribed to the commander of the «Baralong» is simply a copy of Trotha's German order, which, in this particular war has been practised on the German side with regard to the Cossacks and, especially, to the English». (71).

Liebknecht gives the Royal-Prussian Social-democrats, the servants of imperialism, their due.

That the social-democrats, who recommend «to stand steadfast to the end», with their masked Bothmann program of annexations (see the leading editorials for August, 1915), — with their way of currying favour with the German governments, — with their equivocal assurances of hyperpatriotism and very unequivocal oaths of allegiance and services to the Chancellor of the «centre», the cunning jobber of the «moderate» conquest policy skilled in fooling simpletons, — that these gentlemen will go on steadfastly pacing the floors of ministerial anterooms, informing against their comrades and dancing to the Chancellor's fiddle at their party congresses and the Empire conferences, — no one can doubt. It is to be hoped, however, that not much more than one and a half of Scheidemann's party will then be left.

«And these one and a half Scheidemanns will represent — not the German proletariat, but — very different from that — the bureaucracy of the labour movement and its interests, widely diverging from those of the proletariat, at the present moment on main points even opposed to them». (75).

Liebknecht never tires to lash the hypocritical tactics of pretended civil peace, which serves to cover the desperate class warfare of the imperialists against the proletariat. He says: Germany imperialism fights its glorious battles at home; but in these no papers tell.

«Its most glorious battles are fought at home, against Germans, against hungry men thirsting for freedom, demanding peace. It gains really victories over the

unarmed, over women, adolescents, and old men; victories — in honour of which no bells are rung.

«On the 10th of July it overcame Rosa Luxemburg by a vigorous attack. At the present moment it is celebrating a new triumph, which will be sung by our posterity: by a bold rush it succeeded in overcoming and taking captive 70-year old Franz Mehring, beneath whose blows Bismarck used to quake».

And Liebknecht gives a character sketch full of warm feeling of the old German Communist.

«At last the official and semi-official German world can breathe more freely. Franz Mehring has his deserts, which have long been due».

«Why did he burn no incense to the gods of imperialism? Why did he remain true to his altars, — the altars of socialism? Why, in spite of his advanced years, did he rush into the fray for the holy of holies of the International?»

«For, even though he is a teacher of the German people he is not one of those that come out of the stables of Von Trotha — just Solz. For, even though he is a luminary of German science, a master among German publicists, a guardian of German culture, he is not one of the Hohenzollerns' bodyguard. For he is a destroyer of the Prussian legends, not a court chronicler. For he is a champion of the oppressed, not a hireling of those in power. A man, not a flunkey».

«At a time when the officially approved representatives of German Science become panegyrist of barbarism and trade on their pulse, when only those can preserve outward liberty who have accepted bondage and wag a humble tail before military dictatorships — at a time when social democrats are exuberantly happy if permitted to trot alongside the German state carriage and to pick up the crumbs that fall from the ministerial board, — when «social democratic» bores are admitted to court and graciously allowed to sprawl for a few weeks on palace cushions, — at a time when apostate «social democrats» freely bask in the sun, at such a time, — the place for a Franz Mehring is in prison. For prison is the only place in Germany where in these days a decent man can feel free. And the highest place of honour for 70-year-old Franz Mehring is — prison».

«But the work is not yet all done. There are still in Germany thousands and tens of thousands of people, men and women, who cry»

«Down with the Government! Down with war!»

Exceedingly interesting is the following statement made by Liebknecht before the royal district court in Berlin on the 23rd of August 1916:

«The object for which I strive in the war consists in this — that all the imperialist states, — their governments and ruling classes, — be vanquished, — vanquished by the masses of their own peoples. This object means also, peace, the only durable peace, the only peace which will, for all countries, secure the welfare of the great masses» (50).

Here Liebknecht appears as supporter of a general defeat, — the defeat of all imperialist governments in the predatory war which they have brought about; he consequently defends exactly the same position which has been so brilliantly held by the central committee of the Bolsheviks from the beginning of the war.

In a later declaration, dated August 24th, Liebknecht clearly explains his attitude on this subject: —

«In effect, I declared I aim at weakening and breaking down the military might of Germany, i. e., of her capitalist government and dominant classes, but also, and at the same time, that of all other capitalistic states». (80).

And here is the explanation given by Liebknecht at the sitting of the Court on the 28th of May.

«The government of censorship with martial law and impure social conscience, the government of usurious trafficking with food stuffs and of the «three classes electoral rights» of «heroes of the fatherland», — the government which bears the bloody guilt of this most horrible war of depredation, — this government has reason to hide in darkness. Militarism, moreover, never could stand the light of day. I have nothing to conceal, — neither my actions, for which I am persecuted, nor my politics. The policy of class warfare and the solidarity of the labouring classes of all countries demands publicity». (111).

On the 23th of August, 1916, the supreme military court in Berlin set aside the judgment of the military court of the capital Berlin and changed Liebknecht's sentence to four years and one month prison with hard labour, with deprivation of «civil rights» for the period of six months.

Very curious are the grounds given for this sentence with regard to the prisoner:

«Even if he feels called to improve the condition of the labouring class by means of the union of the so-called proletarians of all countries, this does not give him the legitimate right to use such blamable means as the distribution of pamphlets of this description for the agitation of his ideas. He of all men having for so many years held the position of people's deputy, should best know where it behoves the people to express their wishes through their representatives.

«Such action, to the prejudice of his own country and the lowering of its government, whom he at this time of war represents as the true enemy of the German people, shows a low moral standard and is unworthy of any honourable German, — not to speak of a German soldier, whose lofty mission it is to defend the fatherland». (127).

The enemies of the proletariat could not abstain on this occasion from distorting the truth and attributed to Liebknecht things he had never said. So they made him say that he would refuse to carry on in the enemies' lands a propaganda against their respective governments similar to which he is conducting in Germany against

his own government. And Liebknecht proceeds to restore the real sense of his speech.

«If the German opposition were to use its influence to assist the movement in favour of peace in «the enemies lands», and, at the same time, to preach and enforce in Germany quiet and subservience, the German government would be much pleased. There have actually been, in the spring of 1915, such secret plans to use the influence of the opposition abroad, while making use here at home of the «Comrades» of the «stand fast persuasion». A Russian officer out at the front actually dared to drop me a hint to that effect» (Liebknecht's «declaration» in the Berlin district court on the 1st of September). (130).

Liebknecht thus defines his attitude towards the court:

«I did not give any «assurances» to the court; I only made clear my revolutionary attitude towards the institutions and demands of a class state, from this attitude it also follows that I coldly decline to consider all the court's reflections on the «grievous consequences of punishment for myself and my family». (131).

He then speaks of bonapartism as one of the causes of the war:

«To make use of the war, an act of foreign policy, to divert the attention of the population from home affairs, i. e., from the aims of internal policy, is a trick common to all even the oldest states based on class». (141).

Liebknecht points to the fact that, in a war, the problems of a conflict with an internal enemy, possess no less importance in the eyes of a capitalistic government than imperialistic expansion:

«Victory in the world war, obtained at the price of the total loss or considerable curtailment of their class domination, would mean robbing them of their imperialistic power, and from the capitalistic point of view, would be actually worse than a defeat».

Liebknecht shows that the dominant classes very frequently are in favour of a defeat:

«In this sense the truly traitorous watchword: «Better defeat than revolution» which unites the partisans of power by the grace of God with the defenders of power by the grace of Mammon in all countries, would constitute the highest and most sacred commandment of capitalistic and every other class society». (157).

In the heat of the civil conflict the spoliators, while grappling with one another, fall back on the external unity of their interests in the struggle against the proletariat.

The odious battlecry «*Plutôt des Jerserts que, des peuples revoltés*» with which German and Russian Barbarism in close alliance with feudal France, marched against revolutionary France, has not dropped into the past. Only when military triumph advances hand in hand with the humiliation or defeat of the proletariat, then, and only then it seems to the ruling classes of imperialism that the millennium is at hand». (158).

For the proletariat, on the contrary, their enemy's military defeat is of greater importance.

For «it is precisely defeat and any failure outside of politics which strengthen the democratic forces». (158).

And the ruling classes do all in their power to conjure this terrible danger.

«The tremendous danger which threatens the ruling classes, and most of all their extreme elements, presses forward to the front with all the greater force. This danger induces those whom it threatens to struggle with the utmost energy against an unshippable issue of the war. They are ready to stake their all for the sake not merely of victory, but of a great, brilliant victory; only such a victory can guarantee them the preservation after the war, and even an increase of their political and social power at home, and, at the same time, the possibility of taking full advantage of the success obtained in the war, in favour of their class interests». (159).

The imperialists force the masses to work against themselves. «The masses are required to pull the chestnuts out of the fire of the war for the ruling classes and the imperialists, and, at the same time to help build new walls around the fortress of their own enslavement — for the ruling classes are making war for the increase of their wealth, for the strengthening of their power abroad and at home, while the proletarian masses fight for the increase of their own misery, for the greater solidity of their own fetters».

The dominant classes, says Liebknecht, use still another method in dealing with the masses, namely, sham concessions, deceptive promises:

«True, this method holds the latent danger inherent to all demagoguery, it generates and nourishes expectations, inevitably doomed to disappointment, so that the evil, temporarily averted, can but too easily increase it in the future». (160).

The war in the opinion of the ruling classes was to have saved them from the revolution, — and therefore they welcomed it:

«German Social democracy grovels in the dust before the Hohenzollerns «and joyfully at that». This success alone was worth a world's war». These words of *Le Temps*, on the break down of French socialism apply here with double force.

But the further course of the war showed more and more clearly that the revolutionary fire was anything but extinct in the masses and the dangers of demagoguery began to make themselves felt. The war is becoming to be a colossal accumulation of incriminating material which, when the time comes for its liquidation, will at latest cause the greatest social tension.

Here again there is but one hope in view a great victory with enormous conquests. Only such a victory can make it possible to dazzle the masses after the war with splendor and glory, to cheat them of the fulfillment of the hopes that were raised and keep them as before, in the condition of hardship. Only victory prom-

uses the dominating classes the consolidation of their power, needed to repel the revolutionary currents. Defeat will almost mean an assured revolution; a compromise peace would at the least mean the probability of a shifting of power to the side of democracy.

True, the longer the war lasts, the greater becomes the terrible social risk of the rulers, and the more they have to stake everything on the game: *va banque*. Let the nerves and physical strength of the masses be ruined in the war, let them be bled white,—this blood-letting may possibly save us from the revolution. And therefore:

«Forward to the great victory!» (161).

The imperialist governments, however, seek to help themselves by stalling up the revolution in the enemies' countries:

«As far back as the olden times conquerors have striven to put out conflagrations in their own countries by means of adventures in foreign lands, and to light their victorious torch by the conflagration raging in other countries.

«A successful adventure abroad strengthens the adventurer's sway at home. A defeat may cost him his head.

«But a defeat in war of a given form of government brings on the enemy's victory only if it also is the defeat of the people which has been drawn into the whirlpool of war. But if, at the time of the catastrophe, the revolutionary party has been able to seize the reins, it may create a new irresistible, invincible military power.

«In proportion as a country is pregnant with revolution and the popular forces which are capable of unchaining it, the more perceptible will be the foreign enemy's hope of using it for his own advantage». (163).

These words of Liebknecht seem prophetic of what was to come of German Kaiserism's flirting with the Russian revolution:

«Caught in their own trap, the men of Bethmann's type will find themselves face to face with the success of the movements which they were at such pains to provoke by a thousand tricks and antics. Don't deceive yourselves: it is *unplaying* with revolution». (165).

Liebknecht further gives a character sketch of those who help the Chancellor do his dirty work, — the official socialists; he shows their social roots:

«For after all the bureaucracy of the proletarian institutions and organizations, from which the ranks of its followers of the proletariat are made up, forms a separate class by itself differing widely in its conditions of existence and in its psychology from the mass of workers, with which, as a separate class, it is connected by functional relations (166); «as regards its interests, as a separate class, — it is connected with the working class only in so far as «guardianship» is concerned, also the preservation and increase of property acquired in bourgeois society; but it diverges from the interests of the working class respecting precisely those things which alone are of any importance for the revolutionary turn to be taken by the proletarian policy».

The imperial government, on the other hand, seeks to facilitate to its servants the task of deceiving the masses:

«The Chancellor naturally spares no pains to help his political whippers-in to preserve some influence over the masses. He graciously permits them on occasion some little sidesteps, such as thundering radical speeches on the question of food supplies or the censorship and even sundry mendacious «indiscretions». As a special treat — preferably, for better effect, just before a session of the Reichstag, he comes down hard on some of the «Ultras» members of the extreme right, or on one of their organs». (167).

As early as the summer of 1916 Liebknecht demonstrated the necessity of breaking with the traitors to the cause of labour:

«German social democracy and the industrial movement are disgraced by the presence in their midst of such leaders sunk in the slough of capitalistic servility and ministerial flunkism, they are rotten to the core, demoralized, disgraced before the world. Every honest class fighter, every earnest internationalist, every sincere socialist turns from them with disgust». (168).

And this struggle against the socialists gave an impetus to the revolution:

«This struggle, however, will neither cripple nor weaken the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The forces of the tempestuous elements, once they are rid of the fetters of discipline, imposed by organized bureaucracy, of the state, tactical traditions, will accelerate the revolutionary movement, will drive it on to reckless ruthlessness. Should the war accumulate still more combustible material, still more causes for mass revolt, this will happen even during the war — or after the war». (168).

And the ruling classes are calling for victory to forestall the revolution . . .

«Only a military triumph can save those who are guilty of Europe's tragedy from the judgment of the people's wrath».

And here is where they have need for the patriotic social democracy.

«But does the Chancellor want anything short of a «Fronde». He has achieved even a little more; his training has turned the social democratic wolf into the tail wagging dog of capitalism.

Is not such a success worth a few rhetorical phrases. Was it not worth while on rare occasions familiarly to converse with various Scheidemanns and Friedrichs in a few ministerial offices or State chancelleries? Would it not have been worth even a few sham reforms and concessions to a few Südekums? If Paris was cheap at the price of a mass, this is more than Paris, for less than a mass. Could the new orientalism and hoodwinking of the masses be bought at a cheaper price (169). It is in such a policy that the bourgeois nature of the German state become manifest». The Hohenzollern neo-romantic rule by the grace

of God with all its feudal ways, is, essentially, a capitalist bourgeois monarchy with the motto: «Enrich yourselves», and, to achieve its own and its body guard's bonapartist ends, it resorts not to war alone. In pursuit of the same ends it has to practice the part of «roi des gueux» (king of beggars) in the game of socialist monarchy. This is especially necessary in time of war, in order to popularize the war, to facilitate the eliminating of large masses of the people both from external and internal politics, as well as their economical and physical undoing» (171). The victory of such a force is the victory of the blackest reaction. Should the imperialists really achieve such a victory as they dream of, it would be the victory of absolutism of secret diplomacy, of the soldiery, of police and «Junker» rule of economic swindling and parliamentary privileges, of exceptional laws, of the «Hakatis», of the enemies of coalition rights, the victory of tariff usury and extortionate taxation, canting bigotry and schoolreaction — a victory of the forces and tendencies hostile to the workers, — in all the provinces — the victory of tsarism, and, — through violence done to other peoples, — the way prepared towards another world war, and, taken all in all, a fatal thing for the German people, a catastrophe for all mankind. And because it is so, the proletariat, imbued with class consciousness can have one attitude towards the war — irreconcilable opposition, and but one answer, — strain every fibre not for victory, but for carrying on the class conflict, the social revolution» (173). On the 25th of September, 1916, Liebknecht wrote to the royal district court: «The Zubatoffs and Potemkins of the social democratic party, their conference which took place under the motto: «War to the bitter end», adopted a resolution expressive of «sympathy» with myself. This manifestation of a despicable demagoguery might have been foreseen, and I reject it with contempt. (174).

In his declaration to the Imperial military court, made on the 20th of October, 1916, Liebknecht writes:

«The criminality of my endeavours lies by no means in the direction of high treason, as treason to the state, but entirely in that of an international «high treason», to which in this sense I joyfully accede».

On the 29th of October, 1916, he wrote to the Imperial military court at Charlottenburg: «Higher rises the

mountain of guilt which will tumble down on the heads of the rulers. The last oases of humanity are trampled under foot. The windows of the prisons in which the victims of the martial law sit are hung with the censors' dense tissues of lies and the motley flag of patriotism. Icons and altars devoted to the idolatrous worship of the war god conceal the dungeons of the secret service wherein the henchmen of the government torture the foremost fighters for humanity. The motley flags are not yet torn down, the flaming altars are not yet overturned. But a knowledge of what they conceal has at last reached the light of day, and it will not be forgotten».

The Commander-in-chief of the Marken, — president of the court before which Liebknecht was tried, «refused even the Reichstag the right on publishing the documents of my trial».

The military dictatorship surely hides even from its own faithful followers its own semblance, — the semblance of the grand time.

«That is the official signature to the documents of my indictment against my accusers, under which Friedrich Adler has placed his bloody seal, — that piercing cry of despair out of the Austrian hell, that shrill call addressed to the proletariat of the central empires which will not die away unheard».

Here Liebknecht rises before us bodily, the living man; the inflexible irreconcilable revolutionist, who knows of no compromise with the foes of his class, but preserves his position, pure as crystal, consistently internationalist, longing for nothing so much as a defeat.

Just so heroic, magnanimous and unselfish were those men of classical antiquity, of whom Plutarch tells . . .

It is plain that such a man could not exist in the Germany of such men as Eberth and Scheidemann, — that his death at the hands of their agents was not accidental . . .

The book of Liebknecht's trial must be translated into all the languages; it must become a handbook for every communist; in the utterances of their great champion the class conscious proletarians of the entire world will find counsel and comfort.

W. Bistransky.

René Marchand (Late correspondent of the «Figaro» and «Petit Parisien» in Russia) WHY I SIDED WITH THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION? Published by the Communist International. Petrograd 1919. (In French) Price 2 roubles.

The author of this little brochure, not so many months ago, was neither a socialist nor a revolutionary. By his ties, origin, education, and his position as journalist, namely as Russian correspondent of two large Paris bourgeois newspapers, René Marchand belonged, on the contrary, to the most anti-revolutionary French circles. That the edi-

tors of the «Figaro» never tampered with «progressive ideas» is well known to every one of us. But it was just in the capacity of bourgeois patriot and catholic, mixed up in the society of the French ambassador in Petrograd, M. Noulens, that René Marchand followed the events that took place from the very first days of revolution, as a witness who was animated with a sincere desire to understand and to see all in its proper light.

In this brochure he relates what he saw. His indignant protest against the criminal policy of the Entente in Russia, his relation of his own evolution and transition

from the camp of "official" anti-socialism to revolutionary idealism, form a document of high value. Following upon Captain Jacques Sadoul, the attaché to the French military mission, René Marchand is the second French witness whose attitude towards the revolution was an impartial one and who found upon himself to defend it even at the cost of breaking with all his past.

But the evidence of René Marchand is extremely valuable for yet another reason. This evidence will later on lead to the condemnation of a disgraceful policy, consisting of lies and plots, which will remain in the history of the bourgeois financial oligarchy of our times as a crime whose consequences were of the gravest kind. It becomes clear from this document how M. Noulens, in making use of his inviolability as representative of a diplomatic mission, incited a counter-revolutionary uprising in Jaroslavl, the consequences of which were the almost complete destruction of the town and of hundreds of unnecessary deaths, — indeed, a worthy occupation for an ambassador, the representative of a democracy that was conducting war in the name of "right and justice".

Later on we see how old Clemenceau, implicated in the Panama and in shooting workers in Vilnief St. George, crowns his career by supporting Russian monarchists. Before you passes a number of French and English officers (mentioned by their names), gentlemen of the type of Riley and Vertemond, entrusted with the mission of organ-

izing a counter-revolutionary conspiracy in an allied country, — exhausted by years of war, — to reduce Petrograd to starvation by blowing up the railway lines, by which it received its food supplies. Diplomats and minister-provocateurs, officer spies and murderers blinded by their narrow class point of view, commit crime after crime. What a lot these people talked about concerning right, even before Versailles!...

Often during the perusal of these documents one is reminded of the Brest-Litovsk peace. One recalls all the paltry insults with which the whole of the official French press overwhelmed the leaders of the Russian Revolution. During this time 18 months of contemporary history have passed without their being even soiled by all this filth, and the filth has fallen upon those who throw it. Bolshevism gave birth to the German revolution and to the heroic spirit of the Spartakists. But the Imperialist Entente, the victors of Versailles, in the face of the German Revolution, violate nations and their rights with the same and even greater contempt than was shown by German Imperialism at Brest-Litovsk. Through the whole of Marchand's book run the words:

"See for yourself and draw your own conclusion". When the time will come, the French people will see for themselves and draw the corresponding conclusion.

V. S.

CONTENTS.

	P.
Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Workers of all Countries.—A New Form of Intervention	281
G. Zetkin. Hall to the Third Socialist International	285
S. E. Pankhurst. Labour and the League of Nations	291
H. Hörter. World Revolution	297
M. Gorki. A Remarkable Book	301
J. Maclean. The Coal Situation	305
N. Millutin. The Economic Programme of the Communists	307
J. Hevesi. Economic Revolution in Hungary	315
I. Milkich. Socialism in Serbia	319
P. Stutchka. Five Months of Soviet Latvia	327
E. Bionina. Vistas of the Revolution in France	335
P. Faure. Democracy and Bolshevism	341
H. Guillebaux. From Brest-Litovsk to Versailles	343
G. Zinevlev. Franz Mehring	347
M. B. Volodarsky	351
J. Markhefsky (Karsky). In Memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches. (From Personal Reminiscences).	355

Documents of the International Communist Movement.

Affiliation of the Swedish, Norwegian and Bulgarian Parties to the Communist International.	369
The Italian Socialist and the Third International	370
The American Socialist Party and the International	371
The Bern Conference—article by Raymond Pericat	371
Views of International Socialists on the Bern Conference.	374
The "Avanti" on the Bern Conference	376

Illustrations: between pages 355 and 357.—Franz Mehring.—V. Volodarsky.—Uncovering of Volodarsky monument at Petrograd.—Group of members of the First Congress of the Communist International.

Proceedings of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Greetings to the Conference of the Socialist Party in Hungary.	377
Greetings to the Communists of Slovakia	378
On the Murder of Rosa Luxemburg.	379

Resolutions of the First Congress of the Communist International.

Report of Comrade Gruber (German Austria)	381
Report of Comrade Sadoul (France)	385
Report of Comrade Trotsky (Russia)	391
Report of Comrade Platten (Switzerland)	395
Report of Comrade A. Rudniansky (Hungary)	399
Report of Comrade O. Grimlund (Sweden)	399
Report of Comrade Sirola (Finland)	401

Reports and Chronicles.

England	405
A. Cartini. France	409
L. Bersin (Winter). The Festival of International Solidarity	411
A. Rudniansky. The Slovak Soviet Republic	415
H. Kennet. The Growth of the German Revolution	416
X. The Russian Trade Unions and the Commissariat of Labour	421

Bibliography.

W. Blisriansky. Liebknecht's Trial	427
V. S. René Marchand. Why I Sided with the Social Revolution	441

